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The large influx of Puerto Rican residents into New York City has been most deeply felt in the school system. Problems have arisen because American teachers find it difficult to cope with the challenge of new customs and language presented by these students. To help broaden the understanding in this new student-teacher relationship, information about Puerto Rican life, both in Puerto Rico and in New York City, has been gathered. The first section is about Puerto Rico, and gives an historical background, insight into the country's economy and its United States dominated politics, and information about the Puerto Rican's problem in the United States, reasons for migrating, and the types of migrants. Attention is given to their problems of adjustment to a new environment including housing and work facilities. The economic status of the immigrants, the types of neighborhoods in which they live, the schools they attend, and the interaction of Puerto Rican and American cultures are also discussed.

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Puerto Rican Profiles

Resource Materials for Teachers

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MAY 1965
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FOREWORD

The history of this country is characterized by its constantly changing and growing population. Initially, we grew, developed and prospered through the constant waves of immigrants who kept coming to the "new country." Today we are experiencing another type of growth – that involving internal immigrants – people who live in one part of our country but move to another part. With the move come some of the same insecurities, hardships and frustrations that earlier migrants experienced and, as with the European and Asian newcomers of a generation ago, gradual adjustment and gratification.

New York City within the past ten years has expanded its population of our fellow-citizens from Puerto Rico. This expansion is being felt, most naturally, in the schools. Teachers as well as the Puerto Rican pupils are faced with the challenge of new customs and bilingualism.

This bulletin brings together articles from periodicals and selected chapters from books which will add to our teachers' information about, and understanding of, Puerto Ricans. Among the authors are historians and social scientists who are students of the Puerto Ricans on the island and in New York City. I want to acknowledge their public service, and to thank the authors and publishers for their willingness to release, without compensation, these selections for our use.

I also want to thank Grace Goodell and Shelley Umans who compiled the text and bibliography; Edna Bernstein and John Reeves of the Bureau of Curriculum Research Library who assisted in editing and preparing printer's copy; and to Carmen Rivera, teacher of Spanish, for her suggestions. Special appreciation is extended to Clarence Senior, Professor of Sociology and author of *Strangers Then Neighbors*, who graciously served as consultant for this publication.

JOSEPH O. LORETAN
Deputy Superintendent

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CONTENTS

In Puerto Rico

Background 1
The Economy and Politics 15
The Culture 23
The Migrant 33

In New York City

The People 36
Problems of Adjustment 42
Problems of Adequate Housing 46
Economic Status 50
The Neighborhood and the Schools 61
Contributions 95

BACKGROUND†

* Puerto Rico, the ancestral home of one New Yorker in every fourteen, is a green island amid deep-blue water. To the north, the water is the Atlantic Ocean, and to the south it is the Caribbean Sea; Puerto Rico is a link in the chain of islands, the Antilles, that divides the two. In the west, the chain starts with Cuba, south of Florida; then come Jamaica and the island of Hispaniola, shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic; then comes Puerto Rico; and then the Antilles curve south through the Leeward and Windward Islands, ending at Trinidad, off the Venezuelan coast. Puerto Rico is a small island– about thirty-five miles from north to south and a hundred miles across– and a spine of mountains follows its long axis, cutting it in two. Since the prevailing winds are from the Atlantic, the north shore gets most of the rainfall, and the vegetation there is a deep, moist tropical green; in the woods–jungles, rather–there are big trees, creepers, and giant ferns, and in the settled places there are hibiscus, oleanders, bougainvillaea, and poinsettias, as tall, sometimes, as lilacs: pink, red, mauve, and orange against the green background. In the southern half of the Island, though, toward the Caribbean, the vegetation tends to be tawny from drought. Everywhere in Puerto Rico, north and south, it is always balmy–never cold, seldom very hot–and one can live right out in nature all the time.

The island of Puerto Rico was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1493, during his second voyage; in fact, it is the only part of the present territory of the United States that he ever saw. One of his companions on that voyage was Juan Ponce de León, and it was he who, seventeen years later, went back to colonize Puerto Rico, becoming its first governor, and subduing the Indians there–the Borinqueños. Ponce de León is known to American schoolboys as an old man who went to Florida in search of the Fountain of Youth, but the picture that this suggests seems an unfair one. A statue of him, in greenish bronze and a bit smaller than life, stands in a square in San Juan, the Puerto Rican capital; he wears a plumed hat, a sword, and high boots, and looks every inch the conquistador. An inscription on the statue's pedestal says, among other things, that he completed the conquest of Puerto Rico in 1511, that he later discovered Florida, and that he was mortally wounded by Indians there in 1521, dying soon afterward in Cuba.

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* Adapted from Christopher Rand, *The Puerto Rican* (New York: Oxford, 1958) pp. 35-65.

† For the geography of Puerto Rico, teachers are invited to read the delightful travelogue *Puerto Rico, Around the World Program* by Earl Parker Hansen with the cooperation of the American Geographical Society. Publisher, Nelson Doubleday.

He undoubtedly was one of the leading creators of the Spanish New World, and today Puerto Ricans point out, jokingly, that he was also the first migrant from their island to the mainland.

Originally, the island was called San Juan Bautista, and its capital was called Puerto Rico, or Rich Port, but then somehow, around about 1520, the names got switched. San Juan, or, rather, its oldest part, occupies a peninsula on the island's north coast, with the Atlantic to the north and San Juan Bay to the south, and the city was important in the strategy of the Spanish Main, for it helped guard the passage through which convoys of Spanish galleons headed for the Caribbean on their way to pick up Mexican, Peruvian, and Philippine riches at Veracruz and at Portobelo, on the Isthmus of Panama. These convoys were considered fair prey by Spain's enemies, and the British, the French, and the Dutch attacked San Juan's defenses many times during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. (One British attack was led by Sir Francis Drake, who had his chair shot out from under him while he was at supper on his flagship.) In the nineteenth century, the rivalry among European countries in the New World subsided, but Spain's troubles were not over. Gradually, her hold on her empire had been weakening, and in the eighteen-twenties and thirties most of her American colonies split off and declared their independence. Then, in 1898, the Spanish-American War broke out—mainly because of the Cuban struggle for independence—and as a result of it Puerto Rico became a possession of the United States. The acquisition was in line with the "American imperialism" of Theodore Roosevelt and his colleagues, and it was strongly attacked by some of T.R.'s critics, who argued that the island was so unlike our mainland states—in people, language,and culture—that it could never hope to join the Union in the normal way, and would be doomed to second-class dependency. In spite of this debate, however, our annexation of Puerto Rico caused no great public stir here, and was not even thought about much. Indeed, mainland ignorance about Puerto Rico was so great that right up into the nineteen-thirties the island was referred to in official documents as "Porto Rico" which is simply illiterate by the rules of Spanish. Most Americans who have studied the matter feel that in the first three or four decades of our rule Washington paid far too little attention to Puerto Rico, and this view has been expressed by, among others, Henry L. McCarthy, New York's Commissioner of Welfare, who knows the Puerto Ricans well both here and at home. "We neglected Puerto Rico right across the board—in health, education, public works, everything," McCarthy told me recently. "It wasn't till 1941,when Rexford Tugwell became Governor, that we began living up to our responsibilities."

From the beginning, though, certain non-governmental forces from the mainland had gone to work on Puerto Rico, changing things there. American business went in and began selling American goods by American methods, and today Puerto Ricans appear to know much more about installment buying, for instance, than other Latin Americans do; they have aquired a hunger for the gadgets that money can buy, and cash now plays a part in their lives that was undreamed of in the nineteenth century. After 1898, also, many Protestant missionaries went to Puerto Rico from the mainland, penetrating what had previously been a fairly well-ordered domain of the Catholic Church. "The new missionaries certainly bustled about," a sociologist who has been studying Puerto Rico told me not long ago. "They presented Christianity to the island as a religion of works–linked with uplift, change, ambition, and all that–rather than a religion of the status quo, as Spanish Catholicism had been. It was not only that they made some converts; they also founded schools, hospitals, and farm-improvement stations. They taught a belief in material progress. They encouraged Puerto Ricans to join the clergy–something the Spanish Catholic Church had never done, for fear an anti-colonial leadership might develop that way. In short, the new missionaries implanted the so-called Protestant ethic on the Island, and this led to things like a new middle class, a new money economy, and bigger commercial cities."

A money economy requires money, of course, and this has been provided largely by United States investments, especially in the sugar plantations and refineries. In the old days, sugar had been a patriarchal enterprise run by landed families; they had small boiling plants, the cane was transported in oxcart, and the workers were attached to the soil. Now sugar growing became corporate and mechanized, with huge mills, trucks, and rootless workers, who, being dependent on cash wages, made up a rural proletariat. Some of these drifted to cities, like San Juan, Mayaguez on the west coast, and Ponce on the south coast, and made up an urban proletariat, too. Meanwhile, modern medicine was lowering the Puerto Rican death rate, and the population climbed at an astonishing pace; between 1900 and 1950, it more than doubled – from less than a million to well over two million – and the island become one of the world's most uncomfortably crowded places. In the nineteen-thirties, it was described as a desperate poorhouse, with a calamitous future. That future has not materialized, though–partly because so many Puerto Ricans have migrated to the mainland and partly because of the wonders worked by the island's present administration, headed by Luis Munoz-Marin, who in 1949 became Puerto Rico's first popularly elected governor. Unlike some Puerto Rican politicians, who stand either for independence or for statehood, Muñoz is very much in favor of the island's present status; it is an "associated commonwealth" of the United States, free from mainland taxes and with a large degree of self-rule. If Puerto Rico were independent, Muñoz maintains, its people would all be pent up on the island, with no chance of migration, and the flow of investment from the mainland would dwindle; if it becomes a state, it wouldn't be able to handle the tax burden. Under Muñoz, the island government has been luring all kinds of light industry from the mainland, and has been carrying out a new-deal program in education, in public housing, and, under what is known as Operation Bootstrap, in economic development. All this is transforming much of Puerto Rico's life; the Governor and his brain trust have a high sense of mission, most visitors agree, and Puerto Rico has the air of going places.

Last spring, pursuing an interest in the Puerto Rican migrants in New York, I visited the island, and the strongest impression I got was an aesthetic one—how well the Puerto Ricans fitted into their own landscape. In New York, they sometimes have a dingy look, but this isn't true on the island . They wear cotton clothes the year round there, and these are usually clean and brightly colored. They look absolutely natural against their green background—in the mottled shade of some casuarina trees, say—and they look just as natural as they stroll about the towns in the evening. In New York, they crowd out on the sidewalks on warm evenings, but this is not the same thing at all; up here they simply do not look natural—not yet, anyway. In Puerto Rico, there are plazas with green trees against a pleasant backdrop of white buildings (San Juan's plazas have public TV sets in them now, thanks to the municipal government), and the people who frequent them on warm nights, gossiping or playing games, obviously belong there. Often, in San Juan, I saw old men sitting at tables beside the curbs, playing dominoes. And I remember a taxi-driver who sat alongside his vehicle on a little camp chair of slatted wood. When I asked him to take me somewhere, he folded his chair and put it on the front seat beside him. All Puerto Ricans seem practiced at taking the fresh air, and ready to do so whenever they can.

One evening, I went to a night club in San Juan that had good Latin-American music. A sprawling frame structure, reminiscent of the buildings in our seaside resorts or amusement parks a few decades back, it was situated beside a lagoon, and stood on piles, or stilts. The festivities took place in what amounted to the second story. The walls and ceilings were painted light blue and light green—cool colors that are popular everywhere in the tropics—and the chairs and tables were very plain, and cool-looking, too. I had seen Puerto Ricans in New York dance their favorite dances—the merengue and the cha-cha-cha—

and here there was the same blary music, the same skillful, liquid dancing. Otherwise, the place didn't resemble the Puerto Rican hot spots I had seen in New York. On all sides, windows were open to the outer world—to the lagoon and the neighboring rooftops—and a full moon shone on the scene, giving it an enchantment that simply can't be duplicated in New York, where Puerto Rican dance halls are closed tight against the elements.

While strolling one afternoon, I heard an uproar inside the Sixto Escobar Stadium, a big establishment named for the former bantamweight champion, a native of the island, and I went to an entrance gate and asked a woman there what was going on. "Just a field day for the children," she said. I asked if the public was admitted, and she said no but I could go on in anyway. I made my way to the grandstand, which was about three-quarters full of schoolchildren, mostly teen-agers, and found a seat. A big stage had been built over home plate and part of the infield, and on it a number of girls, in bright, flaring skirts and white blouses with lacy or frilly collars, were dancing, in a sort of chorus formation, to a Latin-American rhythm. When they finished, athletic events began, on a track around the ball field—races and jumping contests, between boys of various sizes. These events were all run off with dispatch, sometimes two being staged simultaneously in different places, After each one, the boys who finished first, second, and third were taken to a small platform where three girls stood, dressed in white; the girls would lean forward, pin ribbons on the winner, and kiss them. There were two or three thousand children in the stadium, well behaved, clean, and enthusiastic. As far as looks were concerned, they resembled a crowd of young New York Puerto Ricans — their distribution through the color range seemed the same, for one thing—and I couldn't help thinking that in New York many of them, by the law of averages, would probably be, or be considered, juvenile delinquents. There, though, they looked innocent enough. After a while, a boy in the grandstand behind me started beating a drum with a very stirring rhythm, and a number of the children gathered near him and danced or shuffled in the aisles, while children in other parts of the grandstand cheered. I left soon afterward. The crowd, I felt, was getting rather excited, but the mood seemed harmless—a mood that could lead to no trouble.

During my visit, I often wandered about old San Juan, which may well be the most picturesque town on United States soil. It is small, and consists largely of stucco buildings ranged along narrow, cobbled streets. Many of the buildings are painted in water-colors, and some are very old; often a passageway leads back from the main door in the facade to a patio in the rear, around which small apartments have their entrances in ancient privacy. The cobbles in the street are brick-shaped, and of a blue stone that is said to have been imported from Spain; at midday they reflect the blue sky with intensity. The streets are hilly. Standing on a rise, you can sometimes see the blue Atlantic at the north end of a street, and San Juan Bay at the south end, with green mountains beyond. The roadways are too narrow for anything but one-way traffic, and even this must crawl. The sidewalks are just wide enough for one person to walk on in comfort. San Juan has two magnificent old Spanish forts, looking out over the ocean, and an old white palace for the Governor, surrounded by tropical foliage and looking out over the bay. It is a city that stubbornly resists change—mainly, it seems, by being on such a small scale. Our big new American cars are hopelessly cramped there, and the shops are nearly all tiny with small, bright items of merchandise displayed in their windows in a straightforward, old-fashioned way. One can hardly imagine streamlining San Juan without tearing it down and starting all over again.

The twentieth century has expressed itself less in the city proper than in a suburb called Santurce, in the east. Santurce, I understand, has been built almost entirely since 1898, and it has much in common with Los Angeles or with cities in Florida—wide streets, heavy traffic, white or near-white stucco buildings (some of them quite tall), and a welter of modern signs, modern shop-windows, and other manifestations of the visual clamor of the advertising age. "Santurce is a tropical suburb of New York," one Puerto Rican told me, and this seems a fair statement. The New York influence, one might say, has by-passed the old city and landed in Santurce. Farther inland, in still newer suburbs—and out in the country along big new roads—even more intensive modernization is in progress, for Operation Bootstrap has brought on a fever of construction. If you drive westward from San Juan on the north-coast highway, noisy trailer trucks constantly loom over your car, and you pass tracts of land that are being bulldozed and generally slapped around in preparation for new factories. As you ride along, you come to feel that no other part of the earth's surface can be undergoing so much change.

Beyond the suburbs, and beyond the roadside fringe, the old tropical landscape takes over, with its greenness. In the north, one sees rolling greenness pure and simple, with here and there a miscellaneous farm. In the center—through the mountains—the scene is more jungly, and wilder, and the settlements are often isolated. Then, in the south, there are vast expanses—often irrigated —of rich, green sugar cane. When I was there last spring, in the middle of the *zafra*, or sugar harvest, men were out in the fields cutting the crop with machetes, trucks piled high with cane lumbered along the roads, and here and there refineries, looking like big factories, were going full blast, with dark smoke pouring from their chimneys.

The commonest works of man in the Puerto Rican landscape are small, boxlike wooden houses, often set on stilts and painted in bright colors—usually blue or green, but sometimes red or yellow. A house may have a patch of root vegetables beside it, or a patch of bananas or plantains—little trees, these, with huge, fringed bluegreen leaves. Some of the houses are very small indeed; a single room will do, if necessary, for a family of half a dozen, because it is supplemented by the great outdoors, and I have heard of Puerto Rican families who put their beds outside in the daytime, to make more room, and take them in again at night. Some of the houses have remarkably few furnishings; according to a recent survey of Puerto Rican living standards, many poor rural families have only half a dozen pieces of furniture in their homes—perhaps a bench, a table, a chest, a bed, a hammock, and a cot. Families like these may sleep three, four, or five to a bed and five, ten, or even more to a room, and I gathered that they spend much of their time out-of-doors, washing their clothes in streams and relying on the sun to tell time, which is of no great importance to them anyway.

This sort of simple life—the traditional life of Puerto Rico—is being rapidly abandoned now, what with the modernizing frenzy and with more and more people moving to the towns. But even though one sees new stucco or cement dwellings everywhere, and even though there are public-housing projects galore—San Juan, with its suburbs, has been called the world's best-endowed city when it comes to public housing, a distinction it has won with considerable help from Washington—the basic Puerto Rican unit of shelter still seems to be the wooden-box house, which proliferates in town and country alike. Around San Juan, it proliferates in shantytowns on stilts, mainly down on mud flats by the bay and the lagoons. The best known of these communities, El Fanguito (The Little Mud[b]), was originally built over tidewater, but in recent years a substantial, if rather jagged, layer of crushed stone has been laid there to make solid ground. The houses rise from this in their cool blues and greens. Sometimes they are fenced in with bits of corrugated iron; often they have skinny dogs around them, barking; and often, too, the ground near them is littered with refuse, though the government is conducting an intense cleanup drive. When I was there, the houses were infested with mosquitoes after dark.

A more pleasant shantytown is the one called La Perla (The Pearl), which clings to a steep, almost clifflike hillside leading down to the ocean. One day at low tide, I went to the bottom of the hill, and found green mossy rocks there, with waves breaking on them, and inside them a narrow beach of brown sand. Rocks and sand were bedecked with innumerable rounded bits of bright-colored glass, which I assumed came from bottles broken long ago and ground interminably by the surf. La Perla rose in tiers above me—I could make out five distinct levels, not to mention smaller irregularities—and the shanties were in the thousands. Some were of weathered frame, some were covered with black or green tar paper, and others were painted – a few in egg-yolk yellow, more in various blues, and still more in any of a half a dozen shades of green. Some of the shanties seemed flimsy, some substantial. A few had TV antennas on their roofs. Walking up from tier to tier, I found that a number of shanties rested on old concrete or masonry foundation, like shelves, which I guessed must have been there a long time. Paths, often with steps, struggled upward, sometimes ducking around the shanties and sometimes disappearing into them. Many of the doors were open, and through some I saw little but bare walls and a bare floor, while through others I saw good, solid furniture – a cane bottom sofa and set of chairs, for example. There were children about, neat and relatively well dressed, most of them playing games, perhaps marbles, and old men sat on their stoops, or at the tables of tiny shack cafés, half out-of-doors. They were smoking and taking it easy, and they didn't seem to mind my intrusion. Indeed, I was conscious of a friendly atmosphere around the whole place, and also of much beauty. Out in the distance lay the azure sea. Down on the shore, the white spray leaped high off the rocks, and above it the cool breeze flooded in through the airy shacks. La Perla was a slum, all right, but it seemed almost a paradise of slums.

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[b] This slum has been almost completely eliminated under the Commonwealth Govern-Government Housing and Urban Renewal Program.

Before going to Puerto Rico, I had heard conflicting reports on color discrimination there, some people saying that it didn't exist, at least in the sense that it does on the mainland, and others saying that it was just as strong, if not stronger. The Puerto Ricans, as I had noticed in New York, run the color gamut all the way from very dark to quite fair, and there are numerous special types, deriving from the island's mixture of Negro, white, and Indian. The Negroes, who make up about twenty per cent of the island's population, are, of course, descended from African slaves brought in by the Spanish, as replacements for the Indians, whom they had killed, or driven into hiding or exile, by their stiff system of forced labor. The slaves were freed in 1873, and since then, I gathered, they have intermarried with the rest of the population to a considerable extent. As I went about San Juan, I looked for a prevalence of one shade or another in the crowds I saw. I found that in El Fanguito there was a large proportion of dark faces, and that on the campus of the University of Puerto Rico most of the faces were light. One Sunday, I saw dozens of Puerto Ricans at the bar and pool of the Caribe Hilton Hotel, but none of these were dark. Nor, as it happened, were any of the high government officials I met. On the other hand, dark people did predominate in several groups I saw on the streets—among them a funeral party that came out of the old Church of San José late one afternoon. The pallbearers and the other mourners—several dozen all told—walked solemnly on the blue cobblestones in the afternoon shadows, and I noticed that almost every one of them was dark. I found myself thinking that these people belonged to a special community, within the larger populace but not quite of it.

From observations like this, and from conversations, I gathered that the Negroes are indeed a people somewhat apart in Puerto Rico, but less drastically so than on the mainland. One sometimes hears that there was no race prejudice in Puerto Rico before 1898—that it was the example of the mainland that introduced it—and in some places in San Juan, like the bar of the Caribe Hilton, where Negroes seem to be quite outside the pale socially, this seems plausible enough. Their scarcity in other places is a different matter, though. Some Negroes do attend the university, I learned; some rise high in the ranks of the government; and some are even linked by marriage to the island's leading families. That these privileged ones are so small a minority can, it seems, be laid mainly to the fact that by origin the Negroes were a part of the laboring class, and that members of that class, dark or light, seldom rose much in the old Puerto Rican society, which was Spanish-colonial and stratified. "On the mainland, there has always been a lot of social mobility and a lot of color discrimination," one Puerto Rican told me. "Here, there has been little social mobility and little color discrimination. The illiterate masses have stayed underneath not because they were a certain color but because they were illiterate. Historically, most of the Negroes have been part of those illiterate masses."

I met some Puerto Ricans who were critical of our race prejudice but who—or so it seemed to me—did not take corresponding note of their own class prejudice. At the top of Puerto Rican society, one usually hears, there are a few hundred families of almost unmixed European ancestry, who in the old days were closely identified with Spain and are now identified, at least partly, with the mainland and with mainland business. Between these families and the illiterate majority there used to be only a small number of white-collar clerical workers—in the government, in the Church, and in business. Now this middle class is growing fast, drawing some recruits from the masses. By and large, though, the masses themselves are still, like the unlettered peasantry of any nonmodern country, an uncounted human sea on which the aristocracy can float. "The great majority of our people are rootless and without hope," an especially candid Puerto Rican in New York had told me. "They have no sense of belonging, no sense of the future. And our middle-class people still have a defensive attitude toward them. They don't understand the true facts about the poor, and they don't want to. They shut the whole idea of poverty out of their minds." This man was perhaps putting it too strongly, but, even so, I suspect there is a lot of truth in what he said.

A good many mainland Americans are now living and working in Puerto Rico, and from some of these I heard favorable comments on the islanders and their temperament—strikingly different from the things most New Yorkers say about them. Puerto Ricans, I was told repeatedly, are happy, friendly, and courteous. Their kindness to children was often mentioned, and certainly this trait is plain to the eye of a visitor; after being there awhile, one feels that children are allowed to do almost anything in Puerto Rico. In general, Puerto Ricans do not seem to take life, or their own institutions, too seriously, and this applies to the Church. "Puerto Rico is a Catholic country in which the women practice and the men abstain," one mainlander friend told me. "Often, on Sundays, I've seen a man drive his wife to church in a car, let her out; and drive away again." In Puerto Rico, one of the chief functions of the Church is to supply festivals for the children, this friend said, and added that for the sake of the children the Puerto Ricans have recently been expanding their celebration of Christmas. In their old culture, the main Christmastime festival was Three Kings Day, a Epiphany, and they customarily gave their children presents then, but now they give the children presents both on that day and on Christmas Day itself, though the two are only eleven days apart.

On the subject of Puerto Ricans as workers, I heard conflicting things. One San Juan employer, a man from New York, told me that the islanders could, because of their temperament, stand repetitive work at machines much better than mainlanders. Another told me that they learned "semi-skilled manipulative operations"—the running of machines, that is—more easily than mainlanders because they were more malleable, thanks to their lack of a factory tradition; their limbs were not grooved, he meant, in old habitual motions, as a Yankee operator's might be. This man added that the same lack of a factory tradition worked against the Puerto Ricans, however, in the development of high-grade technicians, like engineers. Still another man told me that the Puerto Rican government was accompanying Operation Bootstrap by a small side effort called Operation Serinadad—a study aimed at learning how Puerto Rico could become industrialized without the nervous wear and tear that usually goes with that process. That such a study might be superfluous was suggested by another thing I heard; namely, that recently, when the minimum wage in the island's garment industry was raised, many Puerto Ricans stopped working a full week, on the ground that they could now afford to take it easy. All in all, I got the impression in Puerto Rico of a carefree tropical people being mechanized at a fast clip and adapting well enough.

Why Puerto Ricans leave home is a question that one gets many answers to. It is largely a matter of economics, of course, but not, it would seem, of economics unalloyed. The Second World War produced a sort of global restlessness, and all over the world country people, many of them refugees, have been piling into big cities—Rome, Bombay, Calcutta, Shanghai, Los Angeles—and have shown a tendency to stay in them, even when they haven't been able to make a real living and have wound up in miserable shantytowns. There has been a general flight away from nature and the primitive, and the fever has hit Puerto Rico. There it has taken on certain special characteristics. For one thing, the Puerto Rican movement to the city has often had two stages—first, a man moves to San Juan, or Ponce, or Mayaguez, and then he moves to New York. For another, in Puerto Rico the wartime disturbance itself took a special form, inclining many of the islanders to look longingly toward the mainland. From 1942 to 1944, the island was virtually blockaded by Hitler's submarines, and there was a great shortage of things to buy. At the same time, we set up garrisons on the island—Puerto Rico was a key spot in the air defense of the Panama Canal, and was also the site of a big naval base, Roosevelt Roads, built as a refuge for the British fleet if it should have to run from home—and these establishments spent money on a scale unprecedented there. Then, too, lots of young Puerto Ricans were drafted and taken by Uncle Sam to see the world and its possibilities. All these things were unsettling to Puerto Rican life, and at the war's end came another big change: the airlines started a cheap passenger service, bringing New York much closer to San Juan.

But the principal reason Puerto Ricans migrate is that there are too many of them on the island and that they can get better wages in New York or its hinterland. Even now, with so many migrants here and with Operation Bootstrap in full swing, fifteen per cent of the island's labor force is unemployed and another fifteen per cent is employed only part time. As for the difference in pay, one often hears that Puerto Ricans can double their earnings by moving to New York, and that, except for fuel and winter clothing, living costs are about the same in the two places. This is probably an exaggeration, but it is unquestionably true that—in good times, anyway—more money can be made in New York, and more money can be saved, or spent on TV sets and washing machines. For a long time, the volume of Puerto Rican migration has varied directly with the number of jobs available here; it was large right after V-J

Day, slackened off in the late forties, and boomed again after the Korean War brought full employment to the United States as a whole. "We can tell exactly when there's going to be a recession on the mainland," a Puerto Rican official remarked to me. "We just watch the Puerto Ricans coming back here. They are the last to be hired and the first to be fired, so if a slump is coming, we know it right away."

A few weeks ago, in New York, a knowledgeable Puerto Rican told me something about the expectations of the migrants. "Don't forget," he said, "we have been exposed to the American standard of living for a long time now. Even in the thirties, many of our basic commodities were imported from the mainland. People began to yearn for a radio, then for an automobile, and eventually for a TV set. They began seeing new types of food, even—frozen food, for instance. Their desires were aroused; cash became more and more important to them, and New York was the place to get it. But there were other reasons, too. Some people thought that by coming here they could better the children's lot, even if they couldn't better their own. There are schools in Puerto Rico, naturally, and a university, too, but education isn't as general as it is here. And New York offers other social benefits. I don't mean relief—Puerto Ricans don't come here for relief. But you have good unions. You have social security, you have health benefits, you have old-age pensions, and all these are higher here because the wages are higher. Puerto Ricans began to learn about it, by word of mouth and by letters back, and a lot of them decided to move. We aren't so dumb about figuring things, you know."

Letters back to Puerto Rico have produced what is often called the family intelligence service. Nowadays, following the mainland pattern, Puerto Ricans are beginning to think of the family in terms of only parents and children, but under the old customs, which are by no means obsolete, they thought of it in larger terms; uncles, aunts, and even distant cousins had a right to claim one's help. The extensive family, as it might be described, makes a fine vehicle for an intelligence service to work through, and letters back have sometimes put great streams of people in motion. The Puerto Rican Department of Labor has a Migration Division here in New York, to help migrants get jobs and apartments and adjust themselves to the new life, and in 1951 this office placed thirty-six Puerto Rican men in an iron foundry in Milwaukee; since then, I have been told, those thirty-six have expanded into a community of three thousand—entirely through family intelligence. Another story I heard at the Migration Division's office was about one Puerto Rican in Haverstraw, New York, who was an Army buddy of the son of a Haverstraw garageman. Right after the war, the son told his father that the Puerto Rican was a good man with a jeep, and he was sent for from the island and went to work in the garage. He turned out well, and before long he sent for his brother to come and work in a neighboring garage. One thing led to another, and there are now nine hundred Puerto Ricans in Haverstraw and the nearby communities of West Haverstraw, Nyack, and South Nyack—manning, among other things, a big junk yard and a plastics factory. They all come from the same *barrio,* or village, on the island. More or less the same phenomenon has occurred elsewhere in the United States. There is a large Puerto Rican community in Lorain, Ohio, and twenty-five per cent of its members are said to have relatives there or in some other American city. And in Cleveland there are about four thousand Puerto Ricans, with only a handful of family names among them.

Most of the migrants, one hears, come here with the intention of leaving soon—perhaps with enough money to buy a *finca,* or little farm, on the island. Often they get stuck, of course. They earn more money on the mainland, but they find more ways of spending it; they get entangled in installment-plan buying, and never save up the capital to go back to the island in style. Two or three Puerto Rican taxi-drivers in New York have complained to me that they have been here for several years and can't afford to go home, as they had originally hoped to. Still, there is a good deal of travelling back and forth, and airline statistics indicate that last year for every five Puerto Ricans who flew up here four flew back. Not all of these went back to stay, of course. A great many children, for instance, seem to have gone to the island for the summer vacation (much as Negro children are often sent from New York to the South), and shuttling grandmothers represented another large category, flying between their descendants at home and their descendants in New York, moved by such considerations as where the freshest welcome was at the moment and who needed help with a new baby. Then, there were the workers who follow a yearly cycle of migration. The Puerto Rican sugar harvest lasts from midwinter into late spring, and it is possible to work all through it and then come up here and work through the grain, fruit, and truck-garden harvests of the Northeast; many Puerto Ricans do that. Others work part of the year in sugar and the rest in some city job here—washing dishes, say, or making costume jewelry. Still others just plain go home for Christmas, a time of festivity on the island and of bitter cold here; in the late fall more people seem to travel from New York to San Juan than the other way about. Since it takes less than a week's good pay to fly back to Puerto Rico, some migrants do it on very slight provocation—perhaps because their health is bad, or because they've been laid off the payroll for a while.

Aside from travellers like this, who can almost be described as commuters, there are many Puerto Ricans who come up for only a year or two and then go back, perhaps to return, perhaps not. "Tackling New York," a man in San Juan told me, "has come to be a sort of initiation, or adventure, that many people here think they should go through. It gives them prestige and something to talk about when they come home, and usually a man can earn better pay if he has a little mainland experience behind him. In a way, it is like going to college." My informant paused and thought for a moment. "The migration has changed a lot in the past ten years, you know," he went on. "In '47, when a Puerto Rican went to New York, he was going to an unknown place, but in '57 he thinks of it as a place where he has relatives, and a place that he knows a good deal about from hearing stories in his village." He paused again. "Of course," he said, "there is one thing that Puerto Ricans cannot learn about unless they experience it, and that is the cold. Time and again, I have tried to warn prospective migrants about the cold, but if they have never been off this island, cold is nothing to them but a word. You know, the migrants are up against plenty of hurdles in New York – finding a place to live, landing a job, learning the language. The greatest hurdle of them all, though, is getting through that first winter."

THE ECONOMY AND POLITICS

[*] Harry Golden's prediction is already coming true, Puerto Ricans have become prominent in several fields. There is José Ferrer of stage, screen, radio and television; Jesus Maria Sanromá, Boston symphony soloist and recording artist; Graciela Rivera, opera singer; Olga San Juan, Rita Moreno, and Juano Hernández, of screen fame; Tito Puente and Noro Morales, popular orchestra leaders; and Ruth Fernández, the great interpreter of Caribbean songs. Baseball fans will recognize such major league names as Victor Power, Orlando Cepeda, Rubén Gómez, Jim Rivera, Luis Arroyo, Valmy Thomas, Félix Mantilla, Arnold Portocarrero, Juan Pizarro, and Roberto Clemente. The world's junior welterweight boxing championship was captured in 1959 by Carlos Ortiz. The bantamweight championship was held by Sixto Escobar, also from Puerto Rico, from 1934 to 1940.

But these people are not our neighbors – not unless we happen to be movie or stage stars, artists, baseball players, or boxers! What about the man at the next workbench, the girl at the next desk, the family down the street? These are the Puerto Ricans Miss Maryal Knox was talking about; they are the ones she and so many others have referred to who are making a rapid adjustment. These are our Puerto Rican neighbors.

Let's find out what they're like. What were they doing in their old homes? What are they doing now? How are their lives in the United States different from the way they lived in Puerto Rico?

I

Puerto Rico as a Good Neighbor

First, let's look at the Island itself. Recently it has become a "showcase of democracy" – an accomplishment of which both we and Puerto Ricans should be proud. *Life* magazine was so impressed with Puerto Rican development, with what it is doing to help the United States prove to the world that democracy holds real promise for the "underdeveloped" two-thirds of the world, that a few years ago it ran an editorial entitled "Thank Heaven for Puerto Rico."

Each year over a thousand persons from underdeveloped areas travel to Puerto Rico to learn the "hows" and "whys" of what Puerto Ricans call "Operation Bootstrap," but which has often been called "miracle in the Caribbean." Puerto Rico spends more than half a million dollars yearly to help its visitors find what they seek. It also operates under a contract with the International Cooperation Administration to help train technical assistance personnel from the United States for their work abroad.

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[*] From, Clarence Senior, *Strangers Then Neighbors* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1961), pp. 51-56.

Why has Puerto Rican economic and political development been called a "miracle"? How did this miracle occur? Of course, those who brought it about deny that it is a miracle at all. They point out that it took hard work, imagination, receptivity to new ideas, and a willingness to sacrifice immediate gains for future growth. It also took a governmental apparatus which is both efficient and honest.

Crucial as they are, governmental activities tell only part of the story. Puerto Rican citizens were themselves involved in working out their future. Without their eager cooperation, blueprints for social change would have gathered dust on the drafting board. Now, however, social progress can be seen statistically in health, education, degree of industrialization, per capita income, and many other areas. It can be seen, also, in the high state of *morale* of the people themselves.

Puerto Ricans realize that many problems remain. A favorite slogan is "jalda arriba," indicating an awareness of the "long, uphill pull." Let us see how far Puerto Rico has already traveled up the hill.

Colonialism was perhaps the first major obstacle to economic and political development. Spain ruled the Island for four centuries, and although it left a rich cultural heritage, it did not leave much for the average citizen. It failed to establish a public school system (leaving 90 per cent of the population illiterate), and left behind it birth and death rates characteristic of an uneducated, poverty-stricken area, and political machinery designed to serve outside interests. Resistance to Spanish rule became widespread, even at the community level. In 1898 there was a change of sovereignty.

Overwhelmingly, Puerto Ricans welcomed United States troops when we "freed" them, as well as the citizens of Cuba and the Philippines, from Spanish rule. We were not accustomed to running an empire, however, and we made many mistakes. It was not until the latter part of the 1930's that Puerto Rican citizens began sharing the responsibility of working out an extensive program of social, economic and political reconstruction.

In 1917 citizenship was granted those Puerto Ricans who wanted it (only 288 out of 1,223,981 refused it), and the machinery of internal democracy was somewhat improved. No further real progress was made until 1948, when Puerto Ricans elected their own governor for the first time in 450 years. By now it was obvious that colonial rule had deteriorated. But what kind of government would replace it? There were three alternatives presented in the 1948 elections; independence, which drew 65,351 votes; statehood, which received 182,977 votes; and the newly worked-out concept of "commonwealth," which received 392,386 votes, or 61.2 per cent of the total ballot.

The leading proponent of a Puerto Rican commonwealth was Luis Muñoz Marín, elected Governor in 1948, 1952, and 1956. The new arrangement was agreed to by the United States Congress in 1950, ratified by three separate votes of the Puerto Rican people, and incorporated into the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, which was accepted by Congress and went into effect on July 25, 1952.

The preamble to the Constitution expresses the faith of the people in democracy as a form of government: "We understand that the democratic system of government is one in which the will of the people is the source of public power, the political order is subordinate to the rights of man and the free participation of the citizen in collective decisions is assured."

The Constitution contains several unusual measures designed to aid the efficient functioning of a democracy. For example, under the Constitutional provisions guaranteeing minority-party representation, the majority party cannot make the almost 100 per cent clean sweep of seats in the legislature which single-member constituencies had made possible in the past. The opposition parties (Statehood and Independence) in 1956 held 26 seats in the Legislature in spite of the fact that their percentage of the vote was lower in the 1956 election than when, prior to the Constitution, they had only three members.

U.N. Recognition

The United Nations Assembly voted, in November 1953, by 26 to 16, to recognize that the Puerto Ricans had been "invested with the attributes of political sovereignty which clearly identify the state of self-government attained by the Puerto Rican people as an autonomous political entity." The Commonwealth had been recognized by the representatives of the world's peoples; the United States henceforth was not required to report to the U.N. each year on developments in one of its former "dependent areas." The commonwealth arrangement has been applauded as one of the great political inventions of our times. This is one reason the Island is so frequently visited by people from colonial, semi-colonial, or recently liberated areas of the world. The transition from dependence to democracy was accomplished without damage to economic or social patterns.

Poverty, with all its attendant ills, was another part of the Puerto Rican heritage, as it is for three-fourths of the peoples of the world. Lack of resources, plus lack of imagination in using resources, was a heavy handicap. Agricultural land is scarce on the mountainous island, where sub-tropical rains have eroded soil on hilly lands unmercifully.

The Puerto Ricans can use only about one-half of an acre of land per person for farming, compared with about four acres in the mainland United States. Forest resources are practically non-existent and no subsoil resources of any consequence have yet been found. Puerto Rico, in common with many of the developing areas of the world, suffers from a heavy population density and from a high birth rate. In 1959 each of the island's 3,435 square miles of area supported an average 681 persons; compared with 50 persons per square mile in the States. In other words, the economy of Puerto Rico has to support almost 14 times the population per square mile that the rich and highly developed economy of the United States supports in its territory.

"Operation Bootstrap"

"Operation Bootstrap" was launched as an effort to develop the people themselves as a major factor in raising levels of living: agricultural improvement and diversification, industrialization, greater education and the knitting together of all these goals by coordinated planning have been the major programs.

Agriculture had been dominated by sugar production with coffee and tobacco as secondary crops. The land now produces, in addition, pineapples, legumes, coconuts, avocados, sweet potatoes and bananas, which were not of great importance before. Cattle raising and dairying have become important sources of income. Many more persons are now landowners under agrarian programs than were two decades ago. The "500 Acre" law, on the books since 1900, has been enforced and land held illegally under it has been expropriated and made available to the landless farm workers in several ways.

The industrialization program had brought 600 new factories to the economy by the end of February, 1960.[c] They have furnished jobs for 45,000 persons directly and about an equal number indirectly. The products manufactured by the new plants include: clothing, shoes, radios and television sets, electric home appliances, tools and dies, surgical instruments, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, plastics, electronic devices, cement, glass, optical products, etc.

These results have been achieved by governmental "technical assistance" to industrialists interested in location and marketing problems, by help in the section and training of personnel, by temporary tax exemptions (except for "runaway" plants), by building factories for rent at reasonable rates, and by wide-scale and imaginative publicity and promotion.

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[c] By the end of February 1964, the number of factories had risen to 800; the number of jobs furnished directly to 59,000.

The spring of 1956 was marked with a celebration when the Puerto Rican economy passed the dividing line between an industrial country and an agricultural country. For the first time income from manufacturing exceeded income from farming. Income originating from agriculture has grown from $70,500,000 in 1939-40 to $161,100,000 in 1958-59, or by 129 per cent; but manufacturing income has grown from $26,700,000 to $241,300,000, or 804 per cent. By 1959 Puerto Rico had also surpassed every Latin American country except oil-rich Venezuela in per capita income.[d] It stood at $493, far above that of three-fourths of the world – but still much less than average income in the United States. The increase from the $121 average in 1939-40 represents a rise of over three times (307 per cent[e]). Wage-earners family incomes have increased faster than have family incomes as a whole, as the workers have participated fully in the benefits of industrial development. The wage-earner family had a rise in real income, after allowing for increases in the cost of living, of 83 per cent between 1941 and 1953, and stood at $1,188 in that year.

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[d] Income originating from agriculture had, by 1960-1961, grown to $199.7 million, or 183 per cent, but manufacturing income had risen to $384 million, or 1,338 per cent.

[e] The per capita income of $740 in 1963 represented a 516 per cent increase since 1939.

POLITICS

* The world today undergoes tremendous political changes. The free world must resist the attack of the totalitarian world. It must make use of its resources, it must marshal all its forces to contain the totalitarian onslaught. The New World has been consecrated to the free way of life, to democracy and justice. The days of isolation in the hemisphere for any one of the hemispheric peoples belong to the past. The whole hemisphere, from the North to the South Pole, from the Atlantic to the Pacific must live in solidarity if it is to perform its mission in history, or even to survive. Understanding the most profound, the most intimate understanding, must develop among all the hemispheric peoples. In this endeavour Puerto Rico feels that it has a mission, an historic mission.

The Island of Puerto Rico is small; only 3,500 square miles. Its people are not so numerous; 2,350,000 in the Island, and perhaps a little over 500,000 in the Continent. But they are, not only culturally and historically located at a middle point between North and South America; geographically they are so situated also.

It was symbolic that in his recent journey to the South American Republics of Venezuela and Colombia, President Kennedy made Puerto Rico the first port of call after leaving the mainland, and that in his return trip again he reached Puerto Rico first before reaching the mainland, having completed a most successful trip in the development of this great endeavour of our times, the Alliance for Progress, Alianza para el Progreso.

Puerto Rico has great problems. Twenty years ago they were so great that its peoples were in despair. Traditionally an agricultural economy, limited by its geographical smallness and pressed by an ever-growing population, which doubled from one million in 1900 to about two millions in 1940, unemployment was rampant. For the people were practically dependent on a single crop, sugar cane, whose wages bore no relationship to the cost of living. Such was the disproportion, that the level of existence of the people sank lower and ever lower. It was a crisis of not unemployment, alone. It was hunger, disease, exposure, in fact, impending social disintegration.

It was in the year 1940 that the great change began in Puerto Rico. A new progressive, and enlightened political force came into being. There started an uphill march to create a new economy, to spread education, to improve health, to industrialize and create employment, to create hope where formerly there was only gloom. Thus was Operation

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* Adapted from, A. Fernos Isern, "The Role of Puerto Rico and Its People in the Americas," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, (May, 1962), 35: 398-400.

Bootstrap born. Its results are now before our eyes. Today Puerto Rico is a bee hive of activity. Wages have increased spectacularly. Employment is within the reach of the people. A tremendous housing development has taken place, as well as an expansion of health and educational facilities. Illiteracy has been brought down to negligible proportions. The death rate has been reduced to a figure even lower than that of the mainland. Per capita income has doubled. Highways have been built. The tourist trade has boomed, and there is social peace and general contentment. The average Puerto Rican knows himself to be a free man in a free society; social justice has made tremendous advances and continues to be the goal for all.

We have done all this with the help and cooperation of our continental fellow citizens, and this has been possible because mutual understanding has developed more and more through the years. We have done this because we have made use of all our spiritual resources and because we have had the will to do it. Today, Puerto Rico purchases in the United States over $700,000,000 a year of merchandise, and sells here over $500,000,000.[f]

We hear of the low income of most of the people of the Spanish American Republics, of prevalent poverty, of lack of shelter, of disease and unrest. We believe, that if Puerto Rico, in cooperation with the United States has been able to overcome its most pressing problems, in spite of the fact that it lacks natural resources other than people and their willingness to work and improve themselves, there is no reason why in a program such as the Alliance for Progress a similar performance may not take place throughout the South American countries, thus bringing about social justice and contentment. This is most important if the institutions of democracy are to be strengthened and protected from subversion, conspiracy, and the manipulations of totalitarian philosophy. We proudly believe that the example of Puerto Rico is one of the great assets that can be counted upon for the success of the Alianza para el Progreso.

To examine the reasons for the success of Puerto Rico, we must first point to the existence not only of a political association between Puerto Rico and the United States, but also of a close economic integration. There are no trade barriers between Puerto Rico and the United States; there are no tariffs; there are no migration restrictions. We are all fellow citizens. The continental citizen may freely travel to Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican citizen may freely travel to the United States. There are many more Puerto Ricans in New York than there are continentals in San Juan, but there are continentals in San Juan in ever-increasing numbers. There is already an English language daily in Suan Juan, as there are two Spanish language dailies in New York City.

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[f] By mid-1964, imports from the United States totalled just over one billion dollars a year.

If not to the same extent that English has developed in Puerto Rico, Spanish is also spreading over New York. This is as it should be, for languages must cease to be barriers to understanding between peoples, and this Hemisphere of ours has two great languages: English and Spanish. (Portuguese comes in third, and there exists the French speaking province of Canada as well as Haiti, which occupies the Western part of the Island of Hispaniola. But Spanish and English remain the fundamental languages of the Hemisphere).

THE CULTURE

[*] Gustavo Agrait, professor of literature at the University of Puerto Rico, has said that the Puerto Rican is the nearest thing there is to a human alloy of the two dominant cultures of the Americas, and the professor of literature may have defined better than anyone else the unusual status of the Puerto Rican in the western hemisphere.

By pedigree, the islander is in large measure Latin. Yet his favorite sports are basketball and baseball. Often, his groceries are purchased at a supermarket. One of the songs most fondly embraced by the teenagers in Puerto Rico in 1960 was a desultory ballad named "Surrender" and sung by Elvis Presley. *Arsenic and Old Lace* played to full houses. The same Puerto Rican celebrates a happy occasion over the traditional *lechón asado* (roast pig) and enjoys the gentle throbs of the merengue. The office worker in the city is likely to be at his desk at 8A.M., but he is unlikely to pause at noon for a siesta. The island he lives on is nearer South America than the northern continent, but he is a citizen of the United States.

The mixing of the Puerto Rican bloodlines started, of course, with the Spanish. When King Ferdinand rewarded his soldiers by parceling out the native Arawak Indians among them, some of the Arawak women became concubines and some became wives of Spaniards. A mixed bag of European nationals came to fight or to trade, saw the good soil and pleasant aspect of the island and returned later to live. Pirates hiding on the island married native women. In 1511 the African slave traffic began. Much later, in the first year of the 19th century, the revolution in Haiti drove French families to Puerto Rico. Many Catholics from Louisiana preferred the Spanish culture of Puerto Rico to their own territory after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. And, of course, thousands of mainland citizens moved to the Island in the 20th century.

Physically, the product of all this mixing is a generally rather short, usually thin, wiry person. In *Puerto Rico, Island of Promise,* Ruth Gruber describes the child of these diverse ancestors:

> The bloodstreams of all these migrants fused to make the Puerto Rican of today. He is not a Negro, although 20 percent of the population is Negro. He is not an Indian yet the golden skin, the high cheek-bones, the aquiline nose, the gentleness and hospitality of the Indian are a common trait all over the island. He is not a Spaniard yet he may have blond hair of

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[*] William C. Baggs, "Puerto Rico: Showcase of Deveopment," reprinted from the *1962 Britannica Book of the Year* (New York: *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 1962.) pp. 59ff.

> northern Spain or pure white skin of Barcelona. (From *Puerto Rico, Island of Promise* by Ruth Gruber. Copyright © 1960 by Ruth Gruber. By permission of Hill and Wang, Inc.)

The figure of 20% for Negroes may be an exaggeration. There is tolerant debate on the island as to what percentage of the Puerto Rican population actually is Negro and there is no appropriately scientific method of determining it. Puerto Rico is a land of splendid phraseology, in which complex issues are reduced (and often oversimplified) to a single sentence. One of these phrases has to do with the racial mixture: "One drop of 'white' blood makes a Puerto Rican a white man." Antonio Colorado has said: "We are mixed people. We are mixed much more than the statistics will admit. People 'pass' easily here."

Probably the nearest thing to a reliable index of Puerto Rican lineage was reported in *Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico,* by Melvin M. Tumin of Princeton University and Arnold Feldman of the University of Delaware. Tumin and Feldman administered a field study of 1,000 "heads of households" in Puerto Rico, chosen from all classes of society on a scientific selection basis. Trained interviewers were asked to classify the respondents and their findings were 608 white, 307 mulatto and 80 black.

Curiously, when the respondents were asked by the interviewers to classify themselves, the answers of those who were willing to respond were 537 white, 397 mulatto and 55 black. The difference between what the interviewers thought and what the respondents thought introduces two interesting suggestions about the Puerto Rican and his culture. One is that the word mulatto implies nothing objectionable to the islanders. Indeed, 90 more persons called themselves mulatto than were so identified by the interviewers; and 71 fewer persons called themselves white. The second suggestion is that many persons prefer an identification other than Negro.

The Puerto Rican likes to say that the pigmentation of a man's skin is not important on his island. This is largely but not absolutely true. The findings of Tumin and Feldman, after exhaustive studies, were:

> The evidence urges upon us the conclusion that skin color is considerably less important in Puerto Rico than in the United States; that it is virtually of no significance whatsoever in many important areas of life; that the majority feel that people of darker color are not blocked from major opportunities by their color; that only on job opportunity is there any serious question. (Melvin M. Tumin and Arnold Feldman, *Social Class and Social*

Change in Puerto Rico, p. 239, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1961.)

In other words, the two sociologists found no discrimination in education and only a negligible amount in social life. But they did point out — albeit gently — the existence of discrimination in employment. They wrote:

> Since only a small minority, just over 12 percent, talk of job discrimination, and the vast majority do not, it is fair to say that color discrimination in Puerto Rico is a subtle and minor theme in Puerto Rican life. Yet it is an insistent theme: its presence cannot be denied, however muted are the responses to it. (Tumin and Feldman, p. 239.)

Negroes may be found at all economic levels, but the fact that the majority are at the bottom level must be taken as some evidence of colour discrimination in job opportunities.

In almost every Puerto Rican town a visitor can find four establishments, a church, a plaza, a city hall and a school. Usually the school is the newest.

The Spaniards did not have a reputation for fostering public education at home or abroad. In 1898 only one Puerto Rican in 41 attended school. The illiteracy rate was more than 80%. There were fewer than 600 teachers.

There is a saying that when the Spaniards came to a new territory they built a church and a fort. and when the North Americans came they built a school. The saying has a considerable degree of truth so far as Puerto Rico is concerned. Every year of U.S. proprietorship saw more schools built. The University of Puerto Rico was founded less than five years after the island changed hands. Within 42 years, the population almost doubled, the number of children going to school increased more than 1,000% and the literacy rate rose to more than 68%.

There were not enough schoolrooms by 1940, and many of the schoolhouses wer dilapidated. There were not enough teachers. But 286,113 islanders were day students in the poorly equipped educational system. Today, after a 21-year campaign to promote education, more than 700,000 persons are attending some kind of school. There are 14,600 teachers. In many ways, education is the largest work of the commonwealth government. In cost, it obviously is. Almost one-third of the commonwealth budget was spent on education in 1961.

One of the persistent problems in Puerto Rican education has been language. At one time there was a strong movement in favour of making

English the language of instruction, inasmuch as the island's association with the U.S. appeared destined to last. For more than 30 years Spanish and English were alternated, and the result was confusion. Finally, in 1948, the island's department of education made Spanish the language of instruction with English taught throughout the educational system. Today the teaching of English begins in the first grade and is intensified from the fourth grade.

The Puerto Rican public-school system offers six years of elementary school, three of junior high and three of senior high. Exceptional children who, for good reason, need financial help to stay in school can obtain assistance from a special fund. More than 8,000 students in the public schools and the university receive such help each year.

The Arawak name of Borinquén is still fondly applied by the islanders to describe their land and themselves. The anthem of modern Puerto Rico is entitled "La Borninquéna." Near the city of Utuado, in the western interior, are the descendants of Irish immigrants from Philadelphia. Some of them have red hair. A traveler in the mountains is struck by the high cheekbones and narrow faces of the people. These are Indians features. A popular form of music, the *plena,* is born of Spanish melody and the insistent rhythms of Africa, imported along with Negro slaves centuries ago. Not far from the frayed elegance of Old San Juan, whose streets are paved with the glazed brick that served as ballast in the sailing ships of Spain, is the modern community of Dos Pinos, looking much like a suburb of Los Angeles or Miami. Its homes are built in a modified ranch-house style, frequently with a decoration of Spanish grillwork. Throughout the island are drive-in theatres and supermarkets or *supermercados.*

All these things are indications of the little island's ability to absorb invading cultures and put its own peculiar stamp on them. To understand the islanders, it is first of all necessary to know that he is not by instinct either a Spaniard or a Norteamericano, although the cultures of both have left their fingerprints on his island. He is by instinct a Puerto Rican, and so is his culture.

There are many stories of how the various cultures have affected the island. The coming of the Yankee, for instance, was greeted with fervour by some of the islanders, and they swiftly took on the Yankee's ways. When citizenship was granted, they became superpatriotic. A well-known story tells of a superpatriot who was introduced to a salesman from Illinois. He asked the salesman which part of Illinois was his home.

"Springfield," replied the salesman.

"Ah," was the misty-eyed comment by the superpatriot.

"You must indeed be proud. Very proud. Springfield, Illinois, the home of blessed Abraham Lincoln, 'the Emancipator,' undoubtedly the greatest man who ever lived. Doesn't it fill you with pride to have come from the same land made sacred by Lincoln?"

The salesman turned to a friend and asked: "What's the matter with him? Is he nuts?"

The superpatriots have declined now. The U.S. culture has been absorbed, as were the ways of the Indian, the Spaniard and the Negro. The mantle of citizenship is worn quietly, though no one can question the patriotism of the citizen. In the Korean war 43,434 Puerto Ricans joined the U.S. armed forces and, although Puerto Ricans are subject to Selective Service, 91% of them volunteered. The casualties, incidentally, were high. More than 8% were killed, wounded or listed as missing in action.

The cultures of Spain and the United States do not clash in Puerto Rico. They blend, and over them lies a patina of the Indian culture as well. Up in the hills, the favourite sport of the jibaro or countryman is baseball. but he is equally fond of poetry that tells of the rugged green mountainsides and the smell of the cool air after a rain and which contains many passages of Indian lore. The movie house – and there is one in practically every settlement – shows a Hollywood movie, but the music being played outside the theatre may be the belero. There are Puerto Rican versions of hamburger stands in the city, but the islander is apt to want *arroz y habichuelas* for lunch or dinner. The debates in the legislature are carried on in Spanish, and the laws are printed in Spanish and English.

The more formal manifestations of culture – art and literature – appeared late in Puerto Rico. The first books came from Spain and the first printing press did not arrive until the 19th century. The early colonial society produced only one outstanding artist, José Campeche, who never left the island. He is considered by some critics as the finest of Puerto Rican artists, and his paintings of the Immaculate Conception and the Madonna and Child, at the bishop's residence in San Juan, are greatly admired. But there were no other painters, poets, novelists or composers of merit as Puerto Rico entered the 19th century. José Campeche was alone.

The first important native literary work, published in 1849, was *El jibaro,* an account of the countryman, the mountain peasant, by Manuel Alonso. The style does not seem to have been influenced by literary trends in contemporary Spain. Even then, Puerto Rican literature had its own distinctive flavour.

Several fine artists appeared in the mid-19th century. Eugenio Maria de Hostos (1839-1903), writer of novels, plays, essays and educational treatises, became known throughout the Americas, Manuel

Zeno Gandia, born in 1855, was the island's first novelist. Francisco Oller became a painter of international reputation and one of his paintings, "L'Etudiant," hangs in the Louvre. Juan Morell Campos composed sentimental *danzas* that were to be appreciated in many foreign countries.

Literature in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was guided by the criticism of Manual Fernandéz Juncos. Later, in the 1930s, the teachers and critics, some of them splendid writers themselves, at the department of Hispanic studies of the University of Puerto Rico had considerable influence on the modern literature of the island. Among them were Tomás Blanco, José A. Balseiro and Concha Meléndez. Enrique A. Laguerre is in many ways typical of today's writers of fiction. Most of his works represented an attempt to find a central theme for his writings in Puerto Rican life.

The *décima* is a folk poetry form, basically Spanish but again with Puerto Rican variation. There are few places on earth where poetry – often extemporaneous – is as popular as in Puerto Rico. The poems of Luis Palés Matos, who came into prominence in the 1920s, are highly regarded by many critics.

Like its writers, the island's artists are struggling to find a genuinely Puerto Rican mode of expression. The *jibaro,* dressed in near rags, his lean, dignified face somehow detaching him from the surrounding poverty, is a frequent subject. Many young artists have been encouraged by wealthy sponsors such as Luis Ferré. A distinguished industrialist and leader of the Statehood Republican party, Ferré opened the Museum of Art at Ponce and gave it "to the people of Puerto Rico." In addition to Ferré's private collection of European and U.S. paintings, the museum contains a special room designed for the permanent showing of Puerto Rican art. Hundreds of people from all over the island visit the museum each week.

Another new opportunity for Puerto Rican artists was created by Guillermo Rodriguez, a San Juan businessman. In Sept. 1960 Rodriguez opened the House of Art in a restored Spanish colonial house in old San Juan. There contemporary work by islanders is displayed, and mature artists such as the painter Julio Rosado and the sculptor Lindsey Daen are represented, together with promising young artists such as Francisco Rodón.

Painting, music, literature and other expressions of the arts are the concern of the Institute of Culture, a vigorous establishment supported by the commonwealth government.

The decision of Pablo Casals to live in Puerto Rico, where his mother was born, led to the establishment of the Casals Festival. Each spring many of the world's most celebrated musicians journey to the island to join the famous cellist and conductor in the performance of great music. The Puerto Rico Symphony orchestra is prominent in the musical life of the island.

There are five daily newspapers in Puerto Rico. *El Mundo, El Imparcial* and the English-language *San Juan Star* are published in San Juan, *El Regionalista* is published in Arecibo and *El Dia* in Ponce. There is also an excellent English-language weekly, the *Island Times,* in San Juan. English programs may be heard on some of the island's 29 radio stations.

Television first appeared in Puerto Rico in 1954. There are eight TV stations. In 1958 the island had 170,000 television sets, or one set for every two households, and television was definitely a factor in the 1960 political campaign.

The U.S. defense establishment in Puerto Rico is not so important in the island's life and economy as is the case in the Hawaiian Islands, where military and naval spending amounts to approximately $400,000,000 each year. Less than one-fourth of this amount is spent by the defense forces in Puerto Rico. There are six army establishments, none of them large. The navy maintains an important base at Roosevelt Roads and the air force has major installations at Ramey air force base. The department of defense does not report the numbers of military and civilian personnel in Puerto Rico, but its total payroll on the island in 1960 came to $58,000,000. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, incidentally, does not have an army, navy or air force. Its national guard has 7,800 members and the island's police force number 3,926.

The cost of living has risen steadily for the Puerto Rican in recent years, but family income has far outdistanced the increased cost of pork, vegetables and clothes. A survey in 1956 indicated that the real purchasing power of the family, allowing for the increased cost of living, had advanced 80.2% from 1940. This, of course, has brought changes in the Puerto Rican's way of life – a television set, more animal proteins in the diet, perhaps an automobile and a child of 14 who goes to school instead of into the sugar fields to help supplement the family income.

Some Puerto Ricans fear that the increasing investment of U.S. capital, bringing with it mainland ways, threatens to eradicate the island's old customs, its Spanish-flavoured poetry and literature, its music and the gentle manners of the people. These fears may be based on a misunderstanding of the United States itself–an image hastily drawn from a Hollywood movie or from the unpleasant stories of Puerto Ricans living in the New York slums. They do not take into account the rooted strength of the Puerto Rican culture.

The most exciting feature of the island's culture is new. It is called *serenidad* or "serenity." The 1960 platform of the Popular Democratic party, sponsoring *serenidad*, described it as a proposal to teach the people that "the production of wealth is a technique, the use of wealth is an art." It is an attempt to create an understanding that material goods, new jobs and new homes are not the ultimate goals of human life. Its author is Luis Muñoz Marín, although others have contributed to the idea. "A people cannot be fully civilized," said Muñoz, "until the economy is the servant of the people's culture and not the master."

Serenidad thus attempts to provide a spiritual ingredient in democratic society. Its aim is to convince the Puerto Ricans that economic development means more than material wealth. An example of *serenidad* in practice is provided by a 35-year-old woman who works as a maid at the governor's mansion in San Juan. In her youth she worked to send her brothers to school. Now she is going to school. She is in the eighth grade and she intends to be graduated from the university. Her purpose is to learn more in order to appreciate the culture of her island and, perhaps, to contribute to that culture. In a world accused of emphasizing materialism to the extent of making it a philosophy of life, *serenidad* is a fascinating proposal. It will be interesting to observe how the islanders react to it.

The Puerto Rican who travels to the mainland states to live is undoubtedly the most misunderstood citizen in the U.S. Commonly identified as a "migrant," he appears to have acquired an unfavourable image in the eyes of other U.S. citizens. In many communities he is not accepted socially by the white people as a white person, while the Negroes often regard him as an unwelcome foreigner, competing for jobs and low-cost housing. There are approximately 1,000,000 Puerto Ricans residing in the continental United States.[g] It is estimated that about 700,000 of them are migrants; the rest were born on the mainland.

The Puerto Rican journeys from his warm climate and familiar home to get a better job than he can find on his island. There is a personal chain reaction in the migration pattern. An islander who makes $25 weekly as a farm labourer gets a letter from his cousin in New York telling of jobs in the states that pay $100 or more. Or he hears a similar tale of the industrial El Dorado from a friend who has returned from the mainland. There are no legal restrictions on travel to the United States. The Puerto Rican is a citizen, and all he needs is the fare for the trip.

There are two kinds of migrants. One goes to the mainland to live permanently. Between 1950 and 1960 an average of 45,000 persons went to the mainland each year with the intention of staying. The other migrant is the farm worker. He travels to the U.S. in the late spring, works the crops through the summer and returns to Puerto Rico – a convenient arrangement for the sugar-cane worker inasmuch as sugar is a winter crop. This back-and-forth migration of farm labourers involves approximately 30,000 persons each year.

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[g] The 1960 census showed that Puerto Ricans were living in all major metropolitan areas of the U.S. except Duluth, Minnesota.

Officially, the commonwealth government neither encourages nor discourages the permanent migration of islanders to the states. Because of the constant stream of islanders to the mainland, however, the government established in 1948 an employment security bureau, which attends to the migrants' problems. The policies of the migration office, an agency of the bureau, have developed into one of the most uncommon treatments of large-scale migration in history.

The migrant is not usually illiterate – the literacy rate for migrants is 92% – but in most cases his language is Spanish. Moreover, most of the migrants have had previous employment in Puerto Rico qualifying them as white collar, skilled or semi-skilled workers. Only 26% are unskilled workers when they arrive in the United States.

The migrant has no idea what winter means. The lowest temperature ever officially recorded on his land was 39° and it is still a subject of conversation. There are stories of Puerto Ricans coming into Idlewild airport in the middle of winter dressed in thin cotton clothes. Once in the air terminal, the Puerto Rican can become confused. He does not know how to secure his luggage from a distant room in the terminal; he does not know which bus to catch and his English is poor. To assist him, the migration office conducts a voluntary orientation program in Puerto Rico.

The word "migrant" is offensive to many Puerto Rican ears, and the orientation program is described by its government sponsors as "information for those who intend to travel." A film is shown in various towns and vilages of Puerto Rico teaching the prospective travelers what the winter season is and how to dress for it. Other films and pamphlets explain that the traveler cannot take a basket of mangoes to the airport and expect to carry them to New York. He must prepare the fruit for transport and secure the approval of plant quarantine officials. The islander must pay a federal tax on rum carried to the U.S. The indoctrination includes directions for finding Travelers Aid at the airport if an expected relative fails to appear.

While the government does not officially discourage migration, its indoctrination program probably has that effect. The Puerto Rican is taught that hospitality in the states is not the same as the kind he knows. On the island, one family may move into a house or apartment with another, and perhaps a third family will move in later. The landlord is not likely to object, and the other tenants do not. Life in a New York city brownstone is quite different. Furthermore, some advance preparation should be made for housing before the family leaves.

Jobs are different, too, and the man who is a good carpenter but cannot speak English is informed of the perils ahead. The language difficulty encountered by such people is one of the chief reasons that English is now being taught in the public schools of the island. Although reliable statistics are not available, it is estimated that more than half the islanders speak some English.

THE MIGRANT

[*] The migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland, especially to the city of New York, did not start yesterday. It commenced even before the Spanish-American War. It has continued throughout half a century. Today there are more Puerto Ricans in the City of New York than in the City of San Juan. They have come in the quest of broader horizons. They love the island of their origin deeply and have brought with them their traditions and culture. They are undoubtedly influencing the ways of life in New York, but by the same token they are absorbing day by day the ways of the city. They are becoming integrated in the same way that our fellow citizens from the mainland are integrating themselves in the Puerto Rican community.

What may the Puerto Ricans bring to the city on the United States continent? They will bring a closely knitted family life, their concept of spiritual values, which they always place far above material values, their complete lack of racial prejudice, their joy of life, their fortitude before adversity, their personal spirit of independence. They bring their willingness to work, whatever type of work may be available, their spirit of tolerance towards religious beliefs. Not that all these did not always exist in the city; they have always been there. But they will be strengthened by the Puerto Rican population.

What will the Puerto Ricans absorb from their brethren from the city? Self-reliance, the social discipline of democracy, the spirit of enterprise. Not that the Puerto Ricans did not have them when they came, but they will be strengthened in them.

We hear of the Puerto Rican problem in New York and I wonder if there is any such problem. To my mind, what has been called the Puerto Rican problem in New York is only the perennial problem of a cosmopolitan growing city, ever becoming more complicated, ever adjusting itself to the new conditions brought about by its own growth. The influx of the Puerto Ricans is taking place before our eyes. That's why we may become anxious about it. But it is not different from the influx of the various European stocks which took place throughout the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth centuries, whose memories have been forgotten. As generations pass, as integration takes place, as the common denominator is created, the so-called problem finds its own solution and disappears and everyone lives happily ever after.

The role of Puerto Rico and its people in the Americas is then, it may be said, that of a catalytic agent in helping to create the solidarity of the people of the Continent, to help create it by their example and actions, to help solidify the great hemispheric system which will be forever the anchor of democratic and free institutions in the whole world.

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[*] From, A. Fernos Isern, "The Role of Puerto Rico and Its People in the Americas," *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (May, 1962). 35: 400-401. p. 83.

[h] A. Fernos Isern is Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

The New World some day will be made up not only of free peoples but of freely moving peoples from one end to the other of both Continents. Language will not be a barrier. Misunderstanding will not be a barrier. A richer way of life will have developed for all. Puerto Rico will have been the pioneer in this great New World integration. Its size is small, its numbers are limited, but its role will be indeed great.

That is the mission which I believe destiny has foreordained for Puerto Rico. That of the pioneer and the discoverer. That is the mission that the Puerto Rican people have accepted for themselves in this great endeavour. That is the role of Puerto Rico and its people in the Americas.

Yet, were it not for migration,[i] the situation would be much worse. As United States citizens since 1917, Puerto Ricans – when they can find the fare – are free to come and go. Thus in 1956 alone, the net migration was over 61,000, in 1958 over 27,000. But such an outlet depends upon job opportunities on the Continent.[j] When these decline, as during recessions and depressions, unemployment on the Island accordingly increases. Indeed, since Puerto Ricans abroad often hold the least secure jobs (in terms, say, of seniority and skill), they are among the first to be released, to go on relief, and, if possible, to return to their homeland, where they add still more to the unemployed ranks.[k]

Color is a factor, too. Puerto Ricans, with minor exceptions, are a mixture of European, African, and native Indian stocks. Of the European, the Spanish strain is by far the strongest (the Spanish language is, of course, the Island's mother tongue), but Corsican, German, French, Portuguese, Scandinavian, and other strains have also intermingled.

Yet to attribute the struggle for existence on the Island solely to overpopulation would falsify the facts. Actually the trouble reaches much farther back – across more than four centuries of colonial exploitation. The history of Puerto Rico, unless one includes the unrecorded aboriginal centuries of Indian occupation, begins on November 19, 1493, when Columbus landed and claimed the Island for Spain. But Ponce de León and his soldiers were the first foreign occupants: in 1508 they came to conquer the Indians – an easy enough victory – and to begin a colony. Negro slaves arrived as early as 1513, but other islands, such as Santo Domingo, proved more profitable for development. Ponce de León himself went on to discover Florida and to die in Cuba.

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[i] Migration to the United States—annual averages: 1909-1930: 1,986; 1931-1940: 904; 1941-1950: 18,794; 1951-1960: 41,212; 1961-1962: 4,523. (From *A Summary of Facts and Figures,* 1963 edition, Division of Migration, Dept. of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.)

[j] In accordance with Puerto Rican usage, the terms "Continent" and "Continentals" refer to the United States and its inhabitants.

[k] 'Puerto Rico Hurt by U. S. Recession." *The New York Times,* Feb. 16, 1958. p. 77

For nearly three centuries, Puerto Rico served chiefly as an important military outpost. Its gigantic fortress, El Morro, begun in 1540 and finished three-quarters of a century later, not only guarded the whole Caribbean from enemy fleets but, supported by other fortresses, successfully repelled Sir Francis Drake and subsequent invaders. Population and economic growth, however, were slow indeed, with San Juan and the rest of the Island living in almost separate worlds. The former, a walled city, contained its coteries of soldiers, priests, politicians, and their followers. The latter consisted of a thin, rustic residue of pauperized farmers largely ignored by the city. Only later did two other cities — Mayaguez and Ponce — assume limited importance.

THE PEOPLE

* *The Puerto Ricans Define Themselves*

The Spanish-language press, radio, and television refer to New York Puerto Ricans as the "Latin" or "Spanish colony" (Colonia Latina or Hispana), or sometimes as the "Puerto Rican colony" (Colonia Puertorriqueña). Occasionally the term "Boricua" (a derivative from Borinquen, the Indian name of the island, according to the Spanish conquerors) is used. Among Puerto Ricans who belong to the Spanish or Latin colony, the terms "Hispano" and "Latino" are used and preferred to "Puerto Rican" for self-identification.

Hispano and Latino have been in use for many years in New York, but their references have changed in the course of time.

Puerto Ricans of Eastville[1]

In the past, Hispanos or Latinos were a small minority of intellectuals and middle-class professionals from Puerto Rico, Spain, and Latin America who lived in New York. By 1950, the Spanish-speaking, socially mobile persons of lower-class origins, who now considered themselves in a higher social position than the recent lower-class migrants from Puerto Rico, were calling themselves Hispanos. More recently, the term has been extended to include all Spanish-spaking persons who reside in New York, regardless of their social and economic class.

Old Residents

"Those who have lived here for many years" form the core of old residents from Puerto Rico in Eastville today. In this group are persons who migrated to New York as adults and who either brought their small children with them or bore their children here. In general, the members of this group came during the period between the two world wars. After their arrival they settled either in Eastville or near by. Though some members of the interwar migration who settled in Eastville moved out of the slums eventually, having achieved socioeconomic mobility, others remained and are still there today. They include a number of individuals between forty-five and sixty. These old residents are not unattached but live within family groups and now comprise a grandparental generation. The strongly cohesive family organizations of which they are a part have contributed to stabilizing the lives of these people in the context of Eastville, where they live near or with their married children, their sisters, brothers, or other relatives. Among these persons are found a number of individuals who are defined as Negroes by the larger community in New York and who have remained within the neighborhood and continued to associate and identify with Puerto Ricans as they do not desire to be identified with American Negroes. They probably will not be defined as Negroes in the Puerto Rican group, and they live with their families in which may be found persons who are distinctly white and are considered white by non-Puerto Ricans. Such old residents as these respond to the American social stereotype of Puerto Ricans as racially "mixed," and prefer being classified as Hispano or Puerto Rican instead of as Negro. Thus a reaction against what is regarded as a social disadvantage has been transformed into a source of family and neighborhood group solidarity which, in turn, serves as a source of emotional strength, reinforcement, and support for the individual.

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* From, Elena Padilla, *Up from Puerto Rico* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 32, 33, 35-43).

[1] "Eastville" is a fictional name for a section of "East Harlem" and therefore it should be understood that this study deals with a slum sub-culture in New York City. Considerably less than one-third of all the city's Puerto Ricans live in East Harlem. Puerto Ricans were found in the 1960 census to be living in 74% of all the 2,200 census tracts in the city.

Around the old migrants also revolve a number of kin and friends from their home towns and *barrios* in Puerto Rico who have migrated at different times and who look to the old migrants for protection, guidance, and advice. The old migrants have not broken off their contacts with Puerto Rico, particularly with their kin and friends there, and are expected to provide hospitality, assistance, and guidance to new migrants. As a rule, the old migrants in Eastville have picked up English only casually and informally, but they prefer to speak English when dealing with non-Spanish-speaking people. At home and in the intimacy of the family and friends of the Hispano group, however, they like to use Spanish as the language of conversation. The old migrants define their children as Hispanos, but as *nacidos y criados, criados aquí,* or *de muchacho.* To strangers they may identify their children as Americans, and a child born in New York is taught by his family that he is an American as well as a Hispano. These are ways of stating the higher status value and preference for individuals who are born and/or brought up in New York.

The Born-and/or-Brought-Up-in-New York

In Eastville this group consists of individuals ranging from infancy to their early thirties – the young people of a parental and a filial generation. In this category are included Hispanos who have lived in New York since early childhood and who received all or most of their schooling here. Being born and/or brought up in New York is considered significant for an individual on three different scores. The first is that, as a rule, those of this group have more formal education than their parents, and education is highly prized among Eastvillers. Second, recent migrants regard the men of this group as potentially good husbands. A fieldworker asked Margarita about her fiancé, "Is he a good man?," to which she replied, "He was born and brought up [here]," meaning that he must be a good man because such men help women around the house and do not run around. On the other hand, the women are not considered potentially good wives. They are said to have departed too much from what makes a good woman "good." The third factor entering into the positive appraisal of the born-and/or-brought-up is the fact that they are fully conversant in English without a trace of foreign accent and that they have been wholly educated in American schools.

Conversely, part of the disapproval of this group is based on the fact that going to New York schools and being exposed to life in this city have resulted in conflicts between them and their parents and between them and the Puerto Rican ethnic group over cultural expectations and ideals. One of the most frequently voiced discontents with life in New York concerns the children, particularly the daughters. Parents talk about how they have lost control over youth here. The young men in this subgroup, however, seem to subscribe to their parents' ideas about women, for they regard as preferred wives those of recent migration, and age is no barrier to this choice. Hence, it is not at all strange to run across a middle-aged woman, in her mid-thirties or early forties, being courted by a young man in his late teens or early twenties. Women migrants are supposed to be "good," in contrast to those who were born and/or brought up here, who do not respond to the cultural ideals of women as homemakers, dedicated to the interests of their husbands and children, and subordinating themselves to the demands of their homes. Male or female, when not conforming to the standards of behavior considered desirable by the Puerto Ricans of Eastville, the born-and/or-brought-up-here are termed "Puerto Rican," rather than Hispano, by other members of the group, even if they have never been to Puerto Rico.

The born-and/or-brought-up-group does not look toward Puerto Rico as "home." Its reference is New York City where social mobility can operate regardless of ethnic group. The self-identity of members of this group is not Puerto Rican. They regard themselves as different from their parents and the new migrants. As Lita Norte, a Hispano born and raised in Eastville, said – echoing her religious advisor – concerning her recent migrant husband, "We have a cultural conflict [in our marriage]. The Spanish men are different; I don't understand them."

Recent Migrants

Los que hace poco que estan aquí are at the bottom of the scale in the Puerto Rican group as it is represented in Eastville. Recent migrants include a large number of persons who do not speak English and who lack relatives or kin on whom to rely in case of need. As a whole, Hispanos born and/or brought up in New York regard the recent migrants as undesirable, particularly those who have no "respectable" relatives to protect them, and therefore have no way of obtaining acceptability through the status of their relatives and friends in the neighborhood. Those migrants who are illiterate and who look poverty-stricken because of their clothes and homes are considered ignorant and are the most undesirable of all. On the other hand, the Hispano group highly approves those who obtain employment, keep a clean, well-furnished apartment, and acquire other material symbols of well-being as these are recognized in Eastville. From the standpoint of social composition the recent migrants can be subdivided into the following categories.

Nuclear families. These are composed of father, mother, and their children, and perhaps the mother's mother. The pattern of migration is one in which the family is usually initially split, since the father often comes to New York first, obtains a job, and then later sends for the rest of the family. The father may stay at a brother's, a sister's, or a close friend's home. If the father has not secured an apartment for his family when they arrive, they, too, will stay temporarily with the relative or friend. As guests, they are not expected to pay for their keep, but they are expected to show their appreciation by reciprocating with gifts of money or goods, by verbal expressions of gratitude, and by approving of the ways of their hosts without complaints or criticisms. The hosts are expected to help the father secure an apartment for his family. This requires that the host accompany the father and explain to the landlord or superintendent the need of the family for an apartment, advising the father as to the payment of a fee for the apartment and as to the rental asked. If the father is unemployable because of a physical handicap, his kin are expected to aid in obtaining information about agencies and hospitals which can help in his case and to accompany him in his search for them.

Able-bodied, unmarried, young men. These migrate to New York after being directly asked by kin or assisted financially to come, or they come on their own and invite themselves to stay. They are expected to work and help support their families in Puerto Rico and perhaps, in turn, to assist them financially to migrate to New York. Here they settle in the home of a relative of either the immediate family or the extended familial group, or with special friends. That is, they stay in the home of a brother or sister, a niece or nephew, a cousin, or a godmother or godfather. These young men are to obtain employment through the help of relatives who are already employed. Relatives, bound by such obligations, try to locate employment opportunities through interpersonal channels – through contacts with their friends, their relatives, or their employers. Even if jobs are heard of through the press – usually the Spanish press or radio – the good relative still accompanies the newcomer personally or arranges for someone else to assist him in getting to places outside the neighborhood. These persons locate addresses, act as intrpreters, and often speak for the newcomer in job interviews. The recent migrant is thus a protégé who is thought to need such personalized assistance. He is offered hospitality, but he is expected to take advantage of it only temporarily. From the standpoint of the migrant, on the other hand, he can help his kin in Puerto Rico because, since he is staying with persons with whom his family maintains relations, he has no expenses other than those connected with his job, his clothes, and his miscellaneous personal expenses.

Unmarried young women. These are a smaller category, the "daughters of family," maidens and virgins, señoritas, who have recently left school or poorly paid employment in Puerto Rico. Either they come at the request of female kin in New York who pay their fare, or they are sent to New York entrusted to the care of a female relative or godmother who is supposed to assume a parental role and protect them from men and "bad company." These young women may be expected either to seek employment and help their family in Puerto Rico, perhaps assisting them to migrate eventually to New York, or else they may be expected to help out in the household of the relative who sent for them and to take care of the children while the other adults of the household go to work. For the latter kind of work the young woman is not to receive wages, but she is provided for as a "daughter of the family," is considered a part of the family, and, as such, receives the supervision and sanctions of a daughter. She is expected to ask permission when she goes out and to obey and comply with her elder kin's orders. If she is gainfully employed, she is supposed to help her host financially and share in the household tasks with the rest of the women.

Mujeres (*women*). This social category, also a smaller one, is derived from the status evaluation, roles, and treatment that differentiate a virgin or maiden from a woman who has experienced sex, and who, even if she was legally married and a good wife at one time, is now unmarried either through widowhood or divorce. These women fall into three classes. The first is maidens who have lost their virginity; the second, divorced, widowed, and other women who had marital arrangements in Puerto Rico and no children; the third, husbandless mothers who are thereby heads of families.

In the first group are "daughters of family" who "made a mistake," or "to whom wrong was done." They may not have become pregnant, or even have had sexual intercourse, but simply engaged in intimacies with a man, perhaps only once. But if this has become known, as it usually does, either through the girl's confession to her mother or friends, or through the man's boasting of it to his friends, the girl will have lost her "honor." In the event that the parents cannot get the "wrongdoer" to marry their daughter, they may send her to New York in the care of a female relative or a godmother. In this way she is protected from the future social consequences of her "mistake," for example, becoming the prey of other men who will not marry her because she is not a virgin. This course of action protects the family's honor and saves face for them. Here these girls are expected to become gainfully employed, to help their families in Puerto Rico, to "mend their ways," and to try to marry properly.

The women who had marital arrangements in Puerto Rico but no children come to live in the home of a relative or a special friend. They are expected to become employed, for example, in a factory, and their personal independence is acknowledged, although they are supposed to behave as "good women." They are also expected to help the household financially, but not to "pay," and to share in the chores.

The husbandless mothers who are heads of families, the most numerous in this category, include unwed mothers, divorced and widowed mothers, and their children. These mothers migrate with one or more of their children, generally leaving the older ones in Puerto Rico in the care of their mothers, sisters, or close friends until they can send for them. They stay with relatives or friends in New York temporarily, where they are considered guests. They are expected to start their own households as soon as possible, either by seeking employment or by securing welfare aid for their dependent children, if they have small children, and they are to care for and support them fully without aid from the earlier migrants. Their migration is connected with trying to better their families, educate their children, and "live their own lives."

Disorganized persons. A small number of these, some chronically ill, some with severe emotional illnesses, deviants, unemployables, and so forth comprise the last category of recent migrants. They are sent here by their families in Puerto Rico to be taken care of by other members of the immediate family in New York. It is assumed that in this city they can not only receive better care than in Puerto Rico, but also that members of the family here are in a better financial position to care for them.

PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT

* What happens to the individual migrant? What happens to his family? Is he more at peace with himself after he migrates than he was before? Assuming that he has bettered his lot economically, does he feel that he is actually better off? These and a myriad of other questions will be asked by those whose major interests lie in helping man improve his lot. The answer for millions of immigrants has undobutedly been that their migration was a tremendous step forward. Others have given an opposite answer and indicated their unhappiness by returning to their original home. Every major stream of voluntary migration has its counterpart in a return migration.

Many of the new urban dwellers come relatively short distances geographically, but if they have come from farms they are likely not to know as much about the complexities of city living as would be desirable. Some recent studies in the United States have found that it takes from 5 to 10 years for newcomers from the farm to equal the voting participation rates of the older urban residents, for example.

Large numbers of the internal migrants must bridge both long geographical distances *and* great cultural differences, since much of the movement is between regions of the country. Many come from those sections of the country where large numbers of persons are disadvantaged when judged by any of the usual indices such as high death rates, high birth rates, widespread illiteracy, low per capita income, high proportions in agricultural, forestry and extractive occupations, etc. And if the newcomer does not speak the local language, his adjustment problems become even greater!

It is persons who come from the "underdeveloped" areas of the country who are most likely to have difficulties in adjusting to the new environment, who suffer the most in the transition from the old to the new, and who are most likely to be referred to in either a contemptuous or patronizing manner as "problems."

Basic to an understanding of them and to programs for helping them is the realization that successful urban living involves a variety of patterns of learned behavior. The newcomer must learn, and learn rapidly, how to cope with new and strange problems. Habits learned in different, and usually simpler, surroundings do not make for satisfactory results in the new environment. Customary ways of making a living, keeping house, raising children, visiting friends and neighbors, playing and worshiping, may all, and all at one time, be called into question.

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* From, Clarence Senior, "Schools, Newcomers, and Community," in *Yearbook 1963, New York Society for the Experimental Study of Education,* (New York: The Society, June 1963 (1), pp. 107-111.

Matters treated casually in the old environment may, in the new, suddenly become invested with high emotional content, (e.g., disposal of refuse). Added to all these puzzling changes often goes the reduction in self-esteem which comes from being labelled as a "problem," from being treated as a member of a conspicuous "minority," instead of as a person.

It is right at this critical point that most receiving communities, whether national or local, cannot answer a crucial question, "Who, or what institution, in our community is responsible for helping the newcomer learn the new patterns of behavior?"

Who, indeed, is prepared to teach the people of the receiving community to cope with new situations; to understand the role of the migrant in helping maintain their economy, for example?

It is also at this point that many cities develop what I sometimes think of as "community schizophrenia"! The newcomers are essential to the industries or services on which the economy is based. The Regional Plan Association study of the New York regional economy pointed out that several million New Yorkers are dependent, directly or indirectly, on the needle trades. They, in turn, are depndent on an adquate supply of manpower (in this case, mostly womenpower) which now is overwhelmingly Puerto Rican. In addition, hotels and restaurants, television and radio, toys and novelties, paperbox manufacturing, steel office furniture and many other industries and services would be seriously crippled without Puerto Rican workers.

There are numerous other ways in which Puerto Ricans contribute to the economy of our city, both as producers and consumers. Some 700,000 persons, the vast majority young people, themselves provide employment through what economists refer to as the "multiplier effect" by their purchases of consumer goods and services, including the payment of high rents for accommodations into which no one else but newcomers could be forced to move.

The persons who benefit from the presence of the newcomers, the industrialists, the merchants, the hotel owners, the owners of run-down rental property, seldom accept any responsibility for explaining the crucial role played by the newcomer in the economy. This is left to the churches, the settlement houses, the community councils, some of the labor organizations, and to the schools.

The schools of New York City have for decades performed the two major functions of helping orient the newcomer and helping the receiving community understand and accept him as a human being. One problem is that the community has never formally acknowledged that the schools should do the job that needs to be done. Actually, many citizens of the receiving community do not realize that there is a job to be done.

The first task of the schools, it seems to me, is to help in the interpretation of the newcomer to the whole community. This is only part of their task of helping to raise a generation of young people who can cope with a world where the enthnocentrism and xenophobia which have so long cursed humanity will be under the control of reason, where change is taken in stride instead of being feared, and where the high ethical ideals of the world's greatest thinkers will be made meaningful in daily life. Unless an accepting, understanding climate is created in the receiving community the second, more specific task of the schools will be immeasurably more difficult.

I trust I shall never forget the lesson in indirect education I saw set forth in a little printed notice under the glass on top of a dresser in a hotel in Havana, years ago. It said: "Please ask your maid not to throw a lighted cigarette out the window. There is danger of fire from the cloth awnings"! We of the receiving community must learn to be as tactful in our education!

The second major task is the teaching of the newcomer, including his children, the ways of life in a big city. Here, life is complicated for us, as for the newcomer, by the presence of so many styles of life. We learned during the disastrous period of the "melting pot" approach to immigrant education that we should *not* attempt to shame newcomers into repudiating their cultural background, to "forget the old country," and to discard the mother tongue and its songs and its poems.

Happily today we generally subscribe to a completely different set of ideas. They are usually called "cultural democracy" or "cultural pluralism." Sometimes this approach is called, by analogy, "orchestration," or tapestration."

It implies that "unity with diversity" is the ideal of the democratic citizen of the United States; that just as violins or colorful threads make their contribution to a symphony or a tapestry, so the "strangers in a strange land" need not divest themselves of their cultural heritage.

New York City is proud of the fact that 17 languages are used every day for broadcasting on 9 different radio stations in the city and that 241 newspapers are published here, in 32 languages.

It can also be proud of the manner in which its school system has risen to the challenge of the changing population of the central city. It has been my privilege since 1949 to work closely with hundreds of teachers, principals, assistant and associate superintendents, directors, school-community coordinators, SATs, NEs, attendance teachers, school system social workers and others toward a better understanding of the Puerto Ricans who have come to live and work among us. Most invariably they are persons of good will, enthusiastic about their jobs and exceedingly helpful. I recall the report of the Association of Assistant Superintendents issued in 1947. Then there was the Puerto Rican study 1953-1957, financed by the Ford Foundation. It gave us a tremendous mine of information and a substantial library of teaching materials. Unfortunately, it did not delve adequately into community relations.

In the more general field, we have had the two reports of the Commission on Integration, the adoption of the open-enrollment program, and more recently, the creation of the Human Relations Unit. We are thus somewhat better equipped to carry out our task of helping the newcomers. Fortunately, the City's official Commission on Intergroup Relations is active and well staffed and has helped enormously as had the State Commission Against Discrimination.

The citizens of New York City have been most helpful in working along the lines just indicated. The United Parents Association, the Public Education Association, the Citizens Committee on Children, plus numerous religious, labor, civic and welfare groups have rendered invaluable service.

There are, of course, substantive problems of housing, shortages of personnel in health and hospital services for persons of low income, scarcity of non-exploitive recreational facilities, and so on. They affect hundreds of thousands of other low income families as well as the Puerto Rican newcomer of low income.

There is right now, above all, as a possible source of serious maladjustment, the shortage of jobs for young people from the gray areas of the city. Dr. Conant suggested a challenging job for big city schools when he recommended that "guidance officers . . . ought to be given the responsibility for following the post-high school careers of youth from the time they leave school until they are 21 years of age." I, for one, believe that the schools should accept that challenge.

What I am really saying is that the big city high school cannot be satisfied with teaching the "academic" or even the "vocational" subjects which the schools of the past—or of the small towns or villages of today—find or found sufficient. The big city school system must make its influence felt throughout the major aspects of life in the metropolis. It is the most ubiquitous, most influential, organ of any community. It must not be thought of as simply a passive reflection of that community in the placid, shallow waters of a wading pool. It must be part of the active crew of a liner battling the waves in a strenuous effort to bring the passengers through the stormy seas of the present into the harbor of a better future.

PROBLEM OF ADEQUATE HOUSING

[*] The Puerto Ricans have followed a development analogous to that of the Negroes. Some of them had already been troubled by the problems of slum life on the island; and they found no relief in migration. Arriving later than the Negroes, they found the housing situation in New York already difficult. The earliest immigrants were cigar makers who settled on Cherry Street in the East Side, where there has since been a small colony. But there was no room to expand there. Instead the Puerto Ricans of the 1920's and 1930's moved to the edge of Harlem in space not pre-empted by the Negroes; the nucleus of settlement there was on Third Avenue at 101st Street. Bounded on the north by the Negroes, on the east by Italians, and on the south by a high rent district, they could only expand to the west. Before the war they had filtered along 110th Street to Morningside Heights. A somewhat smaller settlement also developed in the Navy Yard district of Brooklyn.[n]

The Harlem region was undesirable not only because of the low quality of its housing, which was often worse than that back on the island, but also because it tended to establish an identification with the Negroes that the Puerto Ricans did not particularly like.[o] Yet, when their numbers expanded, during and after the war, they found other parts of the city closed to them by the shortage of residential space, a shortage made more severe by slum clearance and the development of new housing projects. The early Brooklyn settlement, for instance, was thus completely displaced. They spread finally to the upper West Side of Manhattan, and thence southward as far down as 50th Street. The number in the lower East Side also grew; and colonies appeared in Bushwick in Brooklyn and in the East Bronx where there were apartment houses susceptible to conversion. Their distribution by boroughs thus still reflects the restrictions upon their dispersal.[p]

The Puerto Ricans could, however, afford even these quarters only at the expense of a radical deterioration of standards. It is irrelevant to seek to locate the blame for the deterioration either on the rapacity of the landlords or the slothfulness of the tenants. The Puerto Rican slums of New York were the same in character as earlier immigrant slums.

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[*] From Oscar Handlin, *The Newcomers* (Cambridge, Mass,: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 93-95, 116, 117.

[n] Chenault, *Puerto Rican Migrant*, 90ff.; Trumbull White, *Puerto Rico and Its People* (New York, 1937), 260ff.

[o] Mejias, *Condiciones de vida*, 136ff.; Chenault, *Puerto Rican Migrant*, 98ff.

[p] Based on data in Puerto Rican Health Area Schedule, New York City Department of City Planning, Office of Master Planning. See also Table 31; Dodson, *Between Two Bridges*, 9, 12.

Like their predecessors, the Puerto Ricans were handicapped in the quest for housing by the fact that they were newcomers; and they were at a particular disadvantage because of the character of the postwar period in which they arrived.

The shortage of housing since 1940 and government policy combined to create a situation of considerable hardship for these people. The rent laws, which protected entrenched low-income groups, made the situation of recent arrivals worse, as landlords often found it possible to increase their incomes only by converting their properties into furnished flats or quasi-hotels. Frequently, therefore, the Puerto Ricans had no alternative but to accept subdivided apartments or furnished rooms at exhorbitant prices, taking in lodgers to make up the cost. The poor housing in the Bronx thus became worse; and the apartments of the West Side which had often been good were downgraded. The fortunate families able to find places in public housing escaped some of the worst problems. But the majority were squeezed into marginal dwellings by their own lack of choice and the rising value of real estate.[q]

For them too the suburbs have been attractive. They too would like to move for the advantages better neighborhoods would give their children. But thus far their growing numbers have been accommodated primarily by the spread of existing areas of settlement. It is true that the eagerness to find improved housing has contributed to the steady decline in the percentage of those who reside in Manhattan. But, until now, those who have left the area of initial settlement have done so primarily to go to the adjacent boroughs and to such industrial centers as Newark where some 12,800 found homes by 1959. But outside the city limits, in neighborhoods of more desirable housing, the Puerto Ricans have, no doubt, met obstacles similar to those encountered by the Negroes. To what extent those have been surmounted is hard to say, because of the special relation of the Puerto Ricans to color prejudice.[r]

Color complicated the problem of mobility for the Puerto Ricans and also made it difficult to trace their movements. The shock of discovering the significance of discrimination on the mainland created a marked temptation among the whites to sever their ties with the group. Many seized whatever opportunity they could to move away to neighborhoods where they would not be known as Puerto Ricans. The colored, on the other hand, stressed their identification with the group as a means for keeping themselves apart from the Negroes. It seems likely therefore that the spread has been greater than is apparent, for the individuals most likely to move are also those most likely to lose themselves in the general community.

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[q] Jaffe, *Puerto Rican Population,* 49ff.; Martin B. Dworkis, *Impact of Puerto Rican Migration on Government Services in New York City* (New York, 1957), 9ff.; Beatrice Bishop Berle, *Eighty Puerto Rican Families in New York City* (New York, 1958), 46, 47, 92ff.; Dodson, *Between Hell's Kitchen and San Juan Hill,* 16, 17; Padilla, *Up from Puerto Rico,* 7; Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors,* 60-63; Mills, *Puerto Rican Journey,* 92ff.; Wakefield, *Island in the City,* 235.

[r] Padilla, *Up from Puerto Rico,* 6; Burma, *Spanish-Speaking Groups,* 162ff.; *New York Times,* April 3, 1959, p. 29.

It seems safe to predict that, although both the Negro and Puerto Rican groups will grow in size, most of that growth will come outside the original centers of settlement in Manhattan. A useful estimate is that less than 10 per cent of growth in the next two decades will be in that borough, with the remainder divided between the other four boroughs and the outer cities of the suburban counties. The more important question is whether that will come peacefully or as a result of a disruptive struggle.

Somewhat more slowly than among the Negroes, there has been a recent development of both political awareness and group consciousness among the Puerto Ricans. The number who vote has increased as has the purposefulness with which they do so; and a few now have their sights fixed on a share of public office. The annual May 5 parade is regarded by some as a weapon in the fight for equality; for in it the Hispanos demonstrate their size, their voting and purchasing power, and their adaptability to American life. There is even talk of a "Spanish Party." Meanwhile the younger people have begun to form organizations out of which a community may develop. They too feel an interest in, and sympathy with, similar people elsewhere, in their case the Latin-Americans.[8]

Frustration and bitterness may convert this group feeling into a narrow, self-defeating hatred of the outsiders. There are demagogues among the Negroes and nationalist agitators among the Puerto Ricans ready to take advantage of such a turn of events. On the other hand, these communities can also evolve, as their predecessors did, into useful instruments of their members' adjustment to metropolitan life. There are signs that they are beginning to do so in the willingness of many social organizations to deal with such problems as juvenile delinquency and intergroup conflict in cooperation with government agencies, labor unions, and voluntary organizations.

Although the difficulties are genuine and grave, there is every reason to be optimistic about the future, if the society of which these people have become a part allows them to act freely and as equals within it. If New York continues to witness, in the next twenty-five years as it has in the past decade, an abatement of prejudice in accord with its tradition of diversity, the problems of occupational mobility, of education, and of the competition for space will certainly be eased. Under such conditions, the differences that identify the Negroes and the Puerto Ricans will lose their stigmatizing effect and will become the basis for the healthy development of ethnic communities that will be a source of strength to their members. Values defined in such contexts will give meaning, order, and purpose to the lives of individuals and will be reflected back in improvements in education and in housing and in a liquidation of the most troubling social disorders. The whole Region will profit thereby.

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[8] Table 27; Haynes, *Negro at Work in New York*, 48ff.

Much depends on making this possibility a reality. The alternative in a democratic society is almost unthinkable.

ECONOMIC STATUS

* Puerto Ricans are the most recent addition to the American mainland's minority groups, the greatest number having entered since 1950. Although they are American citizens, they share with many other immigrant groups the problems of low educational attainment and language barriers, find work in the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, and experience high levels of unemployment.

The problems of adjustment for the Puerto Rican immigrants, most of whom live in New York, are somewhat different from those that faced European immigrants. Ethnic differences add another dimension to the general discrimination that alien groups experience, even though the Puerto Ricans in the continental United States are overwhelmingly of the white race. (The 1960 census reported that 96 percent of them were white.) The social and institutional patterns in the continental United States are also strikingly different from those that obtain in Puerto Rico, and the considerable shuttling back and forth on the part of the immigrants tends to retard the adjustment process.

Migration and Mainland Population

The migration of Puerto Ricans to the continental United States has generally followed the ups and downs of the business cycle. During times of high economic activity, when jobs are readily available in this country, many Puerto Ricans leave their island and come to New York. During economic downturns, the number doing so becomes much smaller. Since 1957 the rate of migration has also been reduced by the success of the Island's "Operation Bootstrap" and the resulting increase in job opportunities in Puerto Rico. In 1961, for the first time since the depressed 1930's, there was a net outflow of Puerto Ricans from the continental United States. With the pickup in business activity in this country in 1962, the balance shifted again, but the immigration was still considerably lower than in any previous postwar year.

By 1960 the continental United States had some 893,000 residents who were born in Puerto Rico or were the children of persons born there (either one or both parents). This was about three times as many as in 1950. These people are located almost entirely in the large metropolitan areas, and some 70 percent of them live in or around New York City.

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* From, *Manpower Report of the President and Report of Manpower Requirements, Resources Utilization and Training by Department of Labor, Transmitted to Congress, March 1964* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 115-119, 277-288.

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Since the young people migrate in greater numbers than older ones and since the birth rate among Puerto Ricans is high, their median age is low—only 21.4 years in 1960, as contrasted with 29.5 for the total population. Among Puerto Ricans born on the mainland, the average age is lower still, because the large wave of immigration has been so recent. The vast majority of Puerto Ricans born in the United States were, in fact, under 10 years of age in 1960; only 20 percent were old enough to be in the labor force.

Education

The educational disadvantage with which Puerto Ricans have to contend is indicated by the median years of school completed as of 1960 by those aged 14 or over. The median for men was 8.4 years and that for women, 8.2 years—2 to 3 years lower than the comparable medians for the entire population and about the same as those for nonwhites. (See appendix table H-15.) Much of the educational lag can be attributed to the recency of immigration from an island where the median level of schooling for those 25 years of age and over in 1960 was only 4.8 years for men and 4.3 for women. In fact, the influx of immigrants brought a drop of 1 year in the median educational attainment of Puerto Ricans in the continental United States between 1950 and 1960.

Puerto Ricans born on the mainland have fared somewhat better educationally. The men in this group have, on the average, 2 more years of education than the immigrant men, and the second-generation women almost 3 years more than the immigrant women.

In the New York area,[t] where so many of the Puerto Ricans live, their educational disadvantage is very pronounced. Puerto Ricans in the prime working ages, 25 years and over, averaged 7.7 years of education in 1960, 3 years less than the comparable figure for the total population and almost 2 years less than that for its nonwhite population. Averages, however, do not tell the whole story. Almost 30 percent of the Puerto Ricans in this age group had fewer than 5 years of education, compared with only 9 percent of all New Yorkers of this age and a slightly higher proportion (11 percent) of the nonwhites. Whereas 24 percent of all New Yorkers aged 25 or over had completed high school and an additional 18 percent had gone on to college, for the city's Puerto Ricans, the figures were respectively 10 percent and 3 percent. (See appendix table H-16.)

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[t] Data used are for the New York City Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area which includes the five boroughs as well as Nassau, Suffolk, Rockland, and Westchester Counties.

Labor Force and Employment

In 1960 there were 317,000 Puerto Ricans in the labor force – 56 percent of the total number of working age. This was about the same proportion as in the U.S. population generally, but the proportion of men who were workers was somewhat lower and that of women slightly higher than in the total population.

One of the most striking features of Puerto Rican employment is the high proportion who work as operatives, a consequence of the opportunities offered by the New York garment trades. Almost two-fifths of the Puerto Rican men were employed in operative jobs, and another fourth worked as laborers or in the low-wage service occupations. Only 16 percent were in white-collar occupations, and of these only 1 in every 6 was a professional or technical worker. Another 11 percent of the Puerto Rican work force were craftsmen or foremen. (See appendix table H-17.)

For the employed women as for the men, the type of occupation employing the largest number in 1960 was that of operative. More than 60 percent had jobs of this kind, as compared with 14 percent of all employed women in the country. White-collar work accounted for only 20 percent of the Puerto Rican women workers, although 54 percent of the country's employed women were in jobs of this type. These composite figures for each sex represent essentially the distribution of immigrant Puerto Ricans since the second-generation comprise only 8 percent of the Puerto Rican labor force (because of the age factor already mentioned).

The occupational distribution of second-generation Puerto Ricans is vastly different from that of the Puerto Rican-born group, reflecting the educational advantages and the much greater degree of acculturation of those born in the States. Most significant is their movement out of the blue-collar occupations, especially that of operative. Fifty-seven percent of the women and 31 percent of the men in the second-generation group were white-collar workers. Again, New York City's large-scale employment of clerical workers accounts for this development.

Unemployment

In 1960 the census reported that 10 percent of the Puerto Rican working population was unemployed, as compared with 5.1 percent of the labor force generally. The rate for men was somewhat lower and for women slightly higher than the average for both sexes. One out of every five Puerto Rican men workers under age 20 was unemployed. And even among those aged 25 to 44, the unemployment rate was well over 8 percent, more than double the rate for the same age group in the total work force. For Puerto Ricans in each age group and of each sex, the unemployment rate exceeded the comparable overall rate. In a number of instances, it was roughly double that for the comparable group in the total labor force, and about the same as that for nonwhites. In a sense, even these figures understate the Puerto Ricans' unemployment problem since many return to their homeland when they are unable to find jobs.

TABLE 33.
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR PUERTO RICANS COMPARED WITH TOTAL LABOR FORCE AND NONWHITES, FOR THE UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK CITY, 1960

Age group	Total, all races		Puerto Ricans		Nonwhite	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Total United States					
Total, 14 and Over	5.0	5.4	9.5	11.0	8.8	8.5
14 to 19 years	11.0	9.6	19.2	16.8	15.6	19.1
20 to 24 years	8.0	8.2	10.1	13.2	12.3	13.2
25 to 34 years	4.3	5.8	8.4	10.7	8.4	9.0
35 to 44 years	3.8	4.9	8.6	9.3	7.5	7.1
45 to 64 years	4.5	4.2	8.9	9.5	7.5	5.9
65 years and over	5.5	4.4	8.8	11.8	7.8	5.6
	New York City[1]					
Total, 14 and Over	4.4	5.1	9.7	10.6	6.8	6.5
14 to 19 years	11.2	7.1	19.7	15.0	19.0	14.7
20 to 24 years	7.0	5.3	10.7	12.4	9.7	9.2
25 to 34 years	3.9	5.1	8.5	9.5	6.6	6.7
35 to 44 years	3.1	4.8	8.5	9.3	5.3	5.8
45 to 64 years	3.8	4.8	8.8	9.5	5.6	4.7
65 years and over	7.7	6.6	7.7	12.3	7.9	4.6

[1] Includes New York City, Nassau, Suffolk, Rockland, and Westchester Counties.
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Their unemployment rates are high, owing generally to lack of education and training and the resultant occupational concentration in low-skilled occupations characterized by irregular employment. Puerto Ricans have for the most part come to the mainland in an era when shifts in the demand for labor have hit the relatively uneducated and unskilled groups most severely. But discrimination against this group, especially in the first generation, is also a contributing factor.

The disparity between the unemployment rates for Puerto Ricans and for the total work force is even more striking in the New York City area than in the country as a whole. The unemployment rates for Puerto Rican men and women are more than double the corresponding rates for all New Yorkers and much higher than those for Negroes. The Negroes have made greater progress educationally and occupationally in New York than the Puerto Ricans (who are still largely immigrants). The rate of unemployment, though very high among Puerto Rican teenagers, is no worse than for young Negroes. In all other age brackets, however, the unemployment rate is notably higher for Puerto Ricans than for Negroes.

Income

The median income of Puerto Ricans in 1959 was $2,533, about $300 below that of the total population. Puerto Rican men had a median income significantly below that for all men – $2,935 as compared to $4,111. Puerto Rican women, however, had a higher median income than all American women – $1,919 compared to $1,415 – because of their concentration in New York City with its relatively high wage structure and because they tend to be full-time rather than part-time workers. One-third of the Puerto Rican families had incomes of less than $3,000, as compared with one-fifth of all American families, and less than 4 percent of them achieved an income as high as $10,000 per year. These figures, however, are not a full measure of the Puerto Ricans' income disadvantage, since most of them live and work in New York and other urban areas where average income is much higher than in the country generally.

In 1959 the median income for Puerto Ricans in the New York City area was some 30 percent below that for the total New York population, $2,515 compared to $3,560. Male Puerto Ricans had a median income of $2,907, some 40 percent below that for New York men generally. The median income for Puerto Rican women was $1,982, 9 percent below that of all New York women.

The differential in family income between Puerto Ricans and New York area families is even wider. One-third of the Puerto Rican families, as compared with only 13 percent of all New York families, had less than $3,000 a year in income. Half the Puerto Rican families had to live on less than $3,839 a year, whereas for all New York families the comparable median income figure was $6,548. Only 3 percent of the Puerto Ricans, as contrasted with 22 percent of all families, had incomes of $10,000 or more. (See appendix table H-16.)

Puerto Ricans were disadvantaged in income even as compared with nonwhite New York families. Median family income for Puerto Ricans was $645 below that of the city's nonwhites in 1959.

Major Efforts Needed

Many of the difficulties of these Americans stem from the enormous growth in their numbers over a 10-year period and from their concentration in New York City. Housing shortages, lags in adjusting school curricula and methodology to the newcomers' requirements, and the job situation in New York have all contributed to their problems.

But the greatest surges of immigration from the island to the mainland are probably over. And second-generation Puerto Ricans on the mainland are significantly better off than the first; as language barriers disappear, the young people are able to take advantage of the mainland's educational opportunities, and discrimination against them tends to diminish.

These long-run favorable factors should not obscure the current needs of the Puerto Ricans now in the labor force. The high rate of youth unemployment among them demands major efforts in training and placement. For more mature workers, adult education and training programs are very important. There must be emphasis also upon removing any discriminatory bars that limit their employment opportunities and their general adjustment.

(*See tables on pages* 56 *and* 57.)

*Puerto Ricans, more than 650,000 strong, are finding a place in the city's sun. They have been gaining by strenuous efforts of their own, aided by an era of Government social concern and the rise of organized labor.

A survey yesterday – 20 years after their mass migration here began – showed many indicators of Puerto Ricans' progress as they led a citywide silent march for better education. For example, more than 5,000 hold jobs in the city's government, and more than 6,000 small businesses are run by Puerto Ricans.

But Puerto Ricans—along with everyone else – face an era of declining job opportunities for the unskilled through increasing automation.

Twenty per cent of the city's Puerto Ricans receive public relief, compared with 15 per cent seven years ago. But almost 17 per cent of the city's Negroes are on relief and relief roll increases have been less for Puerto Ricans than Negroes – rises of 63 and 73 per cent, respectively – since 1957.

Proportionately four times as many Puerto Ricans as Negroes get public aid to supplement low job earnings because Puerto Ricans here are predominantly young and they have larger families.

Progress is shown by such persons as Margarita Morales, who came here from Puerto Rico in 1958 when she was 17 years old. Her first job was as a garment floor worker, at $40 a week.

Meantime, she started a year's studies in sewing classes of Local 23, International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The union then found her a job as a machine operator. Now she earns $90 to $100 a week at piece rates, with union protections, including equal division of work in slow seasons.

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* "Many Gains Noted by Puerto Ricans," by Peter Kihss (New York: *The New York Times,* March 2, 1964), pp. 47, 48.

TABLE H-15

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY THE PUERTO RICAN POPULATION 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER IN THE UNITED STATES, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND SEX, 1960

(Percent distribution)

Years of school completed	Total		Born in Puerto Rico		U.S. born, Puerto Rico parentage	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total: Number	280,059	283,074	253,098	255,503	26,961	27,571
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed	4.6	7.2	4.8	7.8	2.1	1.8
Elementary school:						
1 to 4 years	15.4	17.0	16.5	18.4	4.8	4.4
5 to 6 years	14.7	14.7	15.7	15.7	5.7	4.8
7 years	8.7	7.7	8.8	8.0	7.1	4.9
8 years	17.2	15.5	17.5	15.8	14.4	13.6
High school:						
1 to 3 years	23.6	21.8	22.2	20.4	36.6	34.6
4 years	11.1	12.0	10.2	10.2	19.1	28.3
College:						
1 to 3 years	3.1	2.9	2.7	2.6	6.5	5.2
4 years or more	1.7	1.3	1.5	1.2	3.8	2.3
Median school years completed	8.4	8.2	8.2	8.0	10.3	10.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

TABLE H-16

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY 1960 AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN 1959[1] OF THE NEW YORK[2] POPULATION 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY RACE

(Percent distribution)

Years of school completed and income	Total, New York	Puerto Rican	Nonwhite
YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED			
Total: Number	6,632,377	276,028	721,960
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed	4.3	8.1	3.1
Elementary school:			
1 to 4 years	4.7	20.6	8.2
5 to 7 years	11.0	23.6	18.3
8 years	18.8	17.2	16.2
High school:			
1 to 3 years	20.0	17.1	23.1
4 years	23.7	10.2	21.4
College:			
1 to 3 years	8.0	2.3	5.6
4 years or more	9.5	1.0	4.1
Median school years completed	10.7	7.7	9.5
FAMILIES WITH INCOME			
Total: Number	2,807,603	143,265	291,262
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than $3,000	13.2	33.4	26.7
$3,000-$5,999	30.7	46.4	43.5
$6,000-$7,999	20.5	12.2	15.5
$8,000-$9,999	13.4	4.7	7.7
$10,000 and over	22.2	3.3	6.7
Median income	$6,548	$3,839	$4,484

[1] Last full year preceding the 1960 census.

[2] Includes New York City and Nassau, Suffolk, Rockland, and Westchester Counties.
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

TABLE H-17

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PUERTO RICANS, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND SEX, 1960

(Persons 14 years of age and over)

Major occupation group	Male						Female					
	Total		Born in Puerto Rico		U.S. born, Puerto Rican parentage		Total		Born in Puerto Rico		U.S. born, Puerto Rican parentage	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	193,914	100.0	177,807	100.0	16,107	100.0	91,255	100.0	82,135	100.0	9,120	100.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	5,307	2.7	4,004	2.3	1,303	8.1	3,384	3.7	2,714	3.3	670	7.3
Farmers and farm managers	219	.1	189	.1	30	.2	8	.0	8	.0		
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	6,134	3.2	5,444	3.1	690	4.3	1,044	1.1	865	1.1	179	2.0
Clerical and kindred workers	14,268	7.4	12,115	6.8	2,153	13.4	11,824	13.0	7,915	9.6	3,909	42.9
Sales workers	5,261	2.7	4,462	2.5	799	5.0	2,409	2.6	1,933	2.4	476	5.2
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	20,647	10.6	17,953	10.1	2,694	16.7	1,650	1.8	1,500	1.8	150	1.6
Operatives and kindred workers	75,299	38.8	71,040	40.0	4,259	26.4	56,524	61.9	54,462	60.3	2,062	22.6
Private household workers	123	.1	92	.1	31	.2	998	1.1	817	1.0	181	2.0
Service workers, except private household	33,215	17.1	31,505	17.7	1,710	10.6	6,186	6.8	5,343	6.5	843	9.2
Farm laborers and foremen	5,636	2.9	5,426	3.1	210	1.3	242	.3	226	.3	16	.2
Laborers, except farm and mine	15,882	8.2	14,692	8.3	1,190	7.4	799	.9	744	.9	55	.6
Occupation not reported	11,923	6.1	10,885	6.1	1,038	6.4	6,187	6.8	5,608	6.8	579	6.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce.

By contrast, it was 30 years after the waves of Jewish and Italian immigration started before the I.L.G.W.U. managed to establish itself with the 1910 cloakmakers' strike. As late as 1943 when Carmen Ortiz, now Mrs. John Finnegan, a Local 23 business agent, came here from Puerto Rico, she got a sewing job only because her sister worked in a shop and would teach her there.

A forthcoming report is expected to show that more than 5,000 Puerto Ricans hold jobs in the city government – 3 per cent of the 177,500 full-time workers in 66 agencies that responded to a City Commission on Human Rights questionnaire.

This compares with the 8 per cent that Puerto Ricans represent in the over-all population. But it's a level that has been achieved despite a language barrier that has held down advance in many areas.

For instance, in the education field only 235 – 0.6 per cent – of the city's 42,223 professional educators last year were Puerto Ricans. This includes substitute teachers, according to Daniel E. Griffith, associate dean of the New York University School of Education.

There are 6,000 to 6,500 small businesses run by Puerto Ricans here, Julius Hernández, executive secretary of the Puerto Rican Merchants Association, estimates. These include 3,500 to 4,000 groceries, 800 eating places, barbershops, real estate enterprises, and travel agencies.

Businesses Moved Often

These, too, represent achievement against handicaps – "continual transplanting," Mr. Hernández says, because many in low-income neighborhoods have had to relocate after renewal projects. Puerto Ricans support each other's businesses, which provide service in Spanish and special products.

In the professions, the newcomers are still getting a foothold. Dr. Albert Verges-Flaque, president of the Spanish-American Medical Society of New York, estimates the city has 60 Puerto Rican physicians, perhaps twice the number of 10 years ago.

Demóstenes S. Roque is president of the Puerto Rican Bar Association, which has 53 lawyer members now, compared with 23 in 1957. The city's pioneer Puerto Rican architect, Jose A. Fernández, came here 36 years ago. His son is now an architect in charge of drawings for the Metropolitan Opera building in Lincoln Center.

The average income of Puerto Ricans is edging ahead of that of Negroes. A City Planning Department spokesman said that the 1960 census showed median incomes for families and unrelated individuals here at $3,470 for Puerto Ricans, $3,459 for nonwhites, $5,427 for others.

The Puerto Rican Migration Division has functioned here since

1948. Joseph Monserrat, its director, said that it spends $1 million a year to help Puerto Ricans through a dozen offices across the country.

With 85 staff members here, it carries on an employment office, community organization, social services, an education program working closely with the year ended last June 30. Of these, 9 per cent were for professionals and clerical employes, compared with 3 per cent a decade earlier. Manufacturing placements were 72 per cent, up from 65; service jobs 10 per cent, down from 19; agricultural jobs 9 per cent, down from 13.

The mass migration of Puerto Ricans here dates from 1944, when 11,201 more persons came here than went to Puerto Rico. The peak year in net migration was 1953, when the figure was 69,124. Since 1944, the net migration has been 598,960. Last year 5,479 Puerto Ricans left, and in 1961 the net outflow was 1,754.

Lack of education has held back some progress. The 1960 census showed that the city's non-Puerto Rican whites had completed a median of 10.2 years in school, compared with 9.5 years for nonwhites and 7.6 years for Puerto Ricans.

Puerto Rican newcomers have helped build, as well as receive benefits. In the city's major garment industry, 40,000 I.L.G.W.U. members, a fifth of the union's rolls in this area, may be of Hispanic origin. The union has about 40 Hispanic staff members.

The Puerto Rican Labor Department lists 60 business agents, organizers and other staff members of Hispanic extraction in more than 20 other international unions here.

Mrs. Rafaela Balladares helped organize an I.L.G.W.U. shop soon after her arrival from Puerto Rico in 1943. She financed the education of her daughter – who is now a teacher – through Hunter College. Mrs. Balladares, who is still a machine operator, now heads the Liberty Party's Spanish division.

The 18-year-old Puerto Rican Merchants Association started with 10 store members, now counts 500. It encourages more ventures, providing group accounting, medical, welfare and other services.

Higinio Reyes, a Brooklyn grocer, is its president. Its directors include, among other Puerto Ricans, four top-ranking city officials, two judges, two state officials, three Assemblymen, a Democratic district leader.

The Puerto Rican Salesmen's Association started with four members a year ago, and now has 55 Puerto Ricans among its present 75 members.

Drive Led by Mayor

Stanley H. Lowell, chairman of the City Commission on Human Rights, notes that Mayor Wagner has led efforts to bring Puerto Ricans into city employment. The city's Personnel Department, under Theodore H. Lang, has worked with the Puerto Rican community in recruiting workers.

The Police Department has 350 to 400 members with Hispanic backgrounds, including two lieutenants, according to Detective Hector M. Vélez, president of its Hispanic Society. The society started with five members in 1957 and now has 240, of whom 80 to 85 per cent are Puerto Ricans.

The Fire Department has about 150 Hispanic members, including a captain and four lieutenants, according to Fireman Joseph Rodriguez, president of its Hispanic Society. The firemen's society started with five members in 1962, now has 68.

Puerto Ricans in education include Irma Fuentes, chairman of the language department at Evander Childs High School, who holds an assistant principal's license; Mrs. Gloria Reinisch, coordinator for non-English-speaking pupils; Eugene R. Calderón, special assistant to the Board of Education for research and evaluations; Antonia Pantoja, consultant on integration.

Among the bottom fifth, however, the Welfare Department reports 134,934 Puerto Ricans received public assistance in January out of 673-000 Puerto Ricans here, a population estimate higher than is agreed by some others. The department says 200,051 Negroes were on relief rolls, out of an estimated 1,193,000 Negro residents.

A seven-year comparison of persons on relief shows:

	1957 Number	1957 Per Cent	1964 Number	1964 Per Cent
Puerto Ricans	82,529	28.5	134,934	31.5
Negroes	115,834	49.1	200,051	46.7
Others	90,816	31.4	93,090	21.8
Total	289,179	100.0	428,075	100.0

Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson calls for major new educational efforts to counter threats of increasing joblessness. There will be jobs even with automation, but he warns "new jobs are going to require greater skills."[u]

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[u] A current analysis of the outlook for the Puerto Ricans is encouraging.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE SCHOOL

* When a child is six or seven, he is considered capable of going out on errands, or perhaps for a little play, without being accompanied by someone older who would be responsible for him. As a baby he became acquainted with other people besides his own immediate family, and when he started to walk he was taken outdoors for relaxation and play. This experience under supervision presumably fitted him to take care of himself in the street. Even a child who is being brought up "upstairs" is at six or seven to know how and when to cross streets and how to avoid getting hurt "downstairs." The degree of freedom of behavior allowed children by their parents depends, of course, on the individual parents. Yet one can generalize that parents who have been raised in New York, and even many of those who grew up in Puerto Rico, have reacted against strong and rigid parental control over children and advocate giving them freedom to play. They consider this the "modern" way, the converse being "old-fashioned."

Young children of recent Hispano migrants will probably not be sent to nursery school or to the play groups of community centers. For one thing, there they would have to be taken care of by strangers – teachers or group workers – who, according to recent migrants, might be critical of the way the children are being brought up and who might not take good care of them as they are neither their relatives nor their friends. It is only after years of residence in New York that parents start accepting the idea that the young child especially can go and play outside the home without becoming a "problem child."

"Modern" Hispano parents, on the other hand, consider it good to have their children of three or four attend nursery school, regardless of whether the mother is employed outside the home. By the time the children of recent, "old-fashioned" migrants are six or seven, however, they, too, are considered ready for grammar school, and the mothers or fathers of these children are frequently seen walking them to and from school. In Eastville many mothers, regardless of ethnic group, escort their daughters throughout their grammar school years, and one can observe any school day a number of women clustered in small groups near the school buildings waiting for their daughters to emerge.

Older children – and some younger, especially boys – walk to school with classmates and neighbors, ideally, those approved by their parents. In school they develop informal friendships that may not be known to their parents, particularly those who discourage, and even forbid, their

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* **From, Elena Padilla, *Up from Puerto Rico* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 194-211.**

children to become friendly with others. In the streets, in school, and afterward at play, children start to pick up conversational English and to use it among themselves. They learn to pronounce English with "the New York accent" that is so desirable to them and to their parents. And, as their parents point out, they may also find themselves in trouble. A child who is going to be good, therefore, has to be kept at home as much as possible, and making friends should not be encouraged. He ought not have friends of his own choosing, nor those disapproved by his parents, because he has to be protected from "bad company," which such sets of friends represent. Ideally, what he should do is return home directly from school and play there quietly with his brothers and sisters. In practice, however, it is acceptable to permit children to have some friends. Although girls "belong to the home," they may have a few girl friends – if their parents approve them as being good – with whom they can go to school and with whom they can visit occasionally. While less active control is exercised over the choice of friends for boys, good parents are expected to question and find out who their son's friends are.

Eastville Hispano children whose parents enforce such norms seldom adhere to them strictly, however, especially after their first year of school in New York, when informal friendships with classmates start to emerge outside the boundaries of parental surveillance. Such children learn ways to circumvent parental rules while paying lip service to them. An older child, for example, may invite his younger brother or sister to join the play with his own friends after school hours, or may give his younger brother or sister a few pennies to keep secret from his parents the after-school play. Or he may strike a bargain with the younger child, telling him that he will keep quite about some mischief the little brother or sister might have done, and of which their parents' would disapprove, if the little one will not reveal the bigger one's playing with friends. Children eagerly seek opportunities for playing with other children and "having some fun," even if this means they have to pay for it. Parents who forbid their children to play in the streets or outside the home describe this practice with pride, secure in the assurance that if their children do not play away from home, they will turn out to be good. Children who have become bad are said to have learned in the street, from the candy store meetings, and from their "bad" companions. So widespread and pronounced among recent migrants is the fear that children may become "bad," because New York is a dangerous place where they learn to disobey and do not respect, that a great deal of the advice and punishment the children are given is due directly to such threats, often to the neglect of rewarding and recognizing the positive merits of their growth.

Speaking practically, it is not possible to carry out the ideal of keeping children upstairs in Eastville, because most of the playgrounds and centers of recreation are in the streets and backyards, where adults as well as children meet and socialize with each other. Good parents, nonetheless, should carefully keep track of their children and restrict their playmates, play, and time outside the home.

Between ten and fourteen, boys who have been in school in New York for longer than a year or two indulge in planning to go together to the same summer camps, to attend movies together, and to play competitive games, like marbles, tops, and baseball, together. The informal group of friends may have as a leader an older boy, who is more aggressive and has more money, or who dresses in such attire as a black leather jacket, tight blue jeans, bell bottom trousers, or black sun tans, which are considered symbolic of aggressiveness and courage.

When school terms end, boys of all ages, though only girls under ten or eleven, may be allowed to go to camp or Friendly Town. Many children join in the nondenominational Eastville church and attend its services regularly because it will register them for the Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund if they are members of the church. One hears from the children who have visited Friendly Towns that they would like to return to them. There they stay with American families for one or two weeks and establish bonds of friendship. They comment especially on how they are allowed to play without having to ask permission. Camp and Friendly Town visits do not seem too long for them, though their parents, brothers, and sisters at home in Eastville bemoan their absence, and in the middle of the night leave their hot, though more quiet, apartments for a breath of fresh air on the sidewalk or in the park.

Going to school, then, is for children much more than attending a seat of knowledge; it is also being in a place where they learn new games, meet new friends, learn new ways, and play. Among parents, formal education for their children is regarded as having a very important role in their aspirations, whether they are to stay in New York for good or are hoping to return to Puerto Rico. As a matter of fact, education is highly valued by all Hispanos — recent migrants, old migrants, and New York-born alike. Ignorance is considered bad, and something one should be ashamed of. Knowledge is good, and it is an asset both for success and in terms of a person's own worth. Among recent migrants one of the foremost goals in their coming to New York is connected with educating their children to an extent they could not have achieved in Puerto Rico.

Parents view their children partly as vehicles through which they can achieve many of their own aspirations in life, particularly those of social and economic improvement. From a very early age a child is told by his mother, father, or grandmother that he will be a lawyer, a doctor, or an engineer. This is repeated in front of visitors, and six- or seven-year-olds themselves speak of having these vocational goals. If they mention one of lesser rank, such as wishing to become a fireman, they are quickly contradicted and corrected by their elders. A child is not going to be "like his father," or "like his mother," who could not continue with school; he is told he "will be *algo grande*," something great.

The ideals of a good education involve such long-range goals as having one's children become professionals, or at least tradesmen or skilled workers. They also involve the more immediate goals of having the children learn to speak English, do arithmetic, and write. School is good for a child, for there he is busy learning and is supervised and corrected by adults. He is also being protected from the streets and other sources of evil, for doing nothing (*estar de vago*) leads to evil.

Before starting school children are told about it informally. They play at learning how to read and write with their brothers and sisters or parents. By the time a child is two or three years old, he may already have been given a notebook and pencil for play. Yet when he gets to school he probably will not be able to follow instructions in either English or Spanish, but will understand and speak a mixture of both. He may, however, know some arithmetic, since it is probable that from about five on he will have been running errands to the store, and required to render accounts of expenses, prices, weights, and measurements to his mother or father.

A child who goes to school in New York is not likely to learn how to read Spanish unless his parents are literate and teach him at home. Hispnano adults of today who have grown up in New York remember and speak the colloquial Spanish of Eastville, and some have even learned to read Spanish, although they are really at home only in English. Often they get lost when trying to maintain a conversation in Spanish and have to shift into English. While recent migrants desire that their children learn English, and bemoan not being able to speak it themselves, they also stress the importance of learning and not forgetting Spanish, complaining about those children who "have lost their language." Their Spanish should not be given up because, they point out, it may prove very useful, and in fact one may have to go to Puerto Rico to learn Spanish in order to hold certain jobs in New York.

There are few books in Eastville homes of recent migrants. Of those that are there, the most popular are paper-covered pulp novels in Spanish. Other popular reading matter includes such movie magazines as *Ecos.* Children of recent migrants buy comic books in both Spanish and English, which are read or looked at only by the younger members of the family. Among Hispanos reared in New York, however, comic books are read by old as well as young. Recent Hispano migrants usually listen to Spanish radio programs and watch Spanish television programs in preference to those in English, although some of their favorites – for example, "Tex and Jinx," cowboy films, Arthur Godfrey, and "I Love Lucy"– are in English.

With a home background in which literacy is not high to begin with and where what there is, is mostly in a foreign tongue, where ways of living are different even from those of neighbors, recent migrant children, particularly those who had no previous schooling in Puerto Rico, are ill-prepared for what they encounter at school in New York. There they are expected to converse in grammatical English and to meet standards of behavior that are not in agreement with those of their parents, nor even those of their socioeconomic class. For all Hispano children, attending school is the beginning of their intensive, directed training in becoming American. Placed within this institutional framework they are exposed to new social situations for which neither the neighborhood nor their preschool experiences at home have prepared them. The transition between home, neighborhood, and school is less drastic for Hispano children who have been in New York long enough to be familiar with the language and the ways of life of Eastville children. Yet even these will experience difficulty, like other slum children, for the schools are middle-class oriented, whereas the neighborhood is not.

Among school children knowledge of colloquial English and speaking it with the "right accent" are considered a sure way of gaining the recognition and friendship of other children in the neighborhood and the approval of their teachers. Many, in fact, achieve this goal in time and gain the acceptance of their teachers and schoolmates.

Although school statistics lump as "Puerto Rican" children born in New York to Puerto Rican migrants, as well as children who have lived in the city for different lengths of time, the picture of Hispano children is by no means a uniform one with respect to their adaptations to life in New York, or to the extent and quality of their knowledge of English and their familiarity with American norms. For children who must go to school in New York immediately after arriving from Puerto Rico, there is virtually no transition provided. The jump is greatest for those who have never before attended school, even in the island, especially those who are no longer very young. Not only are they faced with school itself, but with a strange city, a strange neighborhood, a different language, and new ways of life. They find themselves relatively isolated from other children, ridiculed as "Spics" and "Marine Tigers," and the victims of pranks, because they are "not in the know." Hispano children born in New York or those who have lived some time in the city and can converse in English have their own nuclei of friends from the school and the neighborhood, even if their parents have forbidden them to do so. Like them, their friends speak in English, play the same games, and share interests and understanding. These children do not want to play with or befriend the children who have just arrived. Hispano children who have never been to the island or who left in early childhood and have not been back frequently object to speaking Spanish in school or in the streets, although at home they may have to when speaking to their parents.

To assist the children who do not understand English, the schools may appoint bilinguals as "big brothers." Or they may make the bilingual children monitors or place them in other positions of leadership, because they can be helpful not only to the non-English-speaking students, but also to non-Spanish-speaking school personnel in communication between the two. Eastville schools, like most of the schools in New York, have been making adjustments and trying new methods to cope with the educational needs of childern from Puerto Rico who cannot speak in English and who are at the beginning of the process of adapting to living in New York. An intensive course in English, for example, was given at the two grammar schools of Eastville for those children from Puerto Rico who have been in New York less than a year and could not speak English. The course, taught by a bilingual teacher, was designed to equip these children with a sufficiently large vocabulary and understanding of English that they would be able to catch up with the school program.

Eastville junior high schools with large numbers of Hispano children also have coordinators of Puerto Rican affairs. This position was explained by one of the coordinators as consisting of three parts: the training of teachers, guidance, and parent or community relations. She said, "In training teachers I work not only with teachers but also with supervisors and administrators. I work, however, primarily with teachers who are teaching English as a second language. I make suggestions on the methods to use and help develop material to use in class. I also have charge of organizing the classes for Spanish-speaking boys and assign boys in and out of classes at will. I just tell Miss Lawrence I am moving the child. I also take care of the guidance of boys who do not speak English. This guidance is both social and educational. If a teacher sends a boy to me because she doesn't know what he is doing in her class, I talk to him. I try to talk to him in English and if he doesn't understand I try Spanish [Another time she said "Sometimes I talk in English when my Spanish is inadequate."] I also test these boys — verbal and nonverbal. Sometimes I call in the parents to talk to them about their child. Sometimes I also act as liaison between home and welfare. A parent comes to me and I refer her to welfare and write a letter for her. I also refer children to one of the settlement houses for after-school activities. Sometimes I am called in by a teacher or the principal to act as interperter or to write letters in Spanish."

Hispano children who had never been to school before, however, were assigned to grades with children of their own age group in Eastville grammar and junior high schools. Many recently arrived children, unable to communicate, found themselves with the additional disadvantage of having to compete with children who had undergone the training necessary to achieve their current school level and who were experienced in the process of attending school. Recent migrant children are identified by by their clothing, different hair styles, quiet withdrawal, and sadness in school. Yet, though they are so unfamiliar with neighborhood ways, they themselves speak only of "not knowing English" as the reason they cannot engage in activities they would like and as the reason for their loneliness and isolation. An interview which I conducted with four recently arrived children from seven to twelve years of age illustrates this point.

I: Here, in New York City, whom do you play with?

Raymond (*seven years old*): With nobody.

I: Do you know other boys?

Raymond: Yes, one whose name is Luis, one whose name is Juan.

Rose (*twelve years old*): How awful it is not to know English, ah? (*looking at me*)

I: Why?

Rose: Because if one has a friend, one cannot tell her what happens to one.

Ana (*seven years old*): I would like to learn a lot of English because if one has to go see a doctor, I don't dare to tell him what happens in Spanish.

Carmen (*seven years old*): I don't know any English.

I: Do you want to learn?

Carmen: Yes!

I: Why?

Carmen: Because yes. In school I don't understand.

Ana: My father came here two years ago. He knows a lot of English. He says he does not know much but that he was born under the American flag.

Carmen: The one who takes care of the children next door is American. She knows Spanish and English too. I was stunned by this. Her boy friend, one of those "Italians," also knows Spanish and English.

Rose (*looking surprised*): Ave Maria! I have nowhere to go, in my house there is no *radiola* (radio-phonograph), no television.

Ana: In my house we have no *radiola,* no television, but they are going to buy one.

Carmen: At home there is a car and television.

Rose: In your house, your godmother and your godfather work.

Carmen: They are still paying for the sewing machine, the car, and the television.

Having no conversational knowledge of English, children like those interviewed keep very much to themselves and their homes. Though they are shunned by many because of their strange ways, some American Negro children, among others, do try to befriend them. Parents who have migrated recently, however, and who are still "green," are suspicious of dark brown American and West Indian Negroes. They claim they are afraid of them because Negroes are mean. Mr John Hetch, a teacher in an Eastville grammar school, talked about the fear Puerto Rican children in his school have of American Negro children, who, in turn, feeling "curious" about the Spanish ones, try to get near them. He added that Puerto Rican parents encourage such fears and according to personal observations and mothers interviewed in this study, his statement had a basis in reality.

Many teachers who look at teaching from the point of view of a middle-class neighborhood or suburb find it a very different experience to teach in a place like Eastville, because the parents and the children, regardless of whether they are Puerto Ricans or not, are not like "middle class people." To others, simply having Puerto Rican children in class was automatically a problem, even if these children knew English well enough to understand instructions and speak the language and even if they had been in New York long enough to have made an adjustment to living here and to functioning in school and in the neighborhood. From observations carried out in schools and interviews conducted with teachers, attendance officers, principals, and other personnel in the schools of Eastville, the net inference gained was that the main problems presented to the schools there by Puerto Rican children were those of language. Problems in personal behavior and delinquency were found to cut across ethnic groups and were not the special province of any one particular group. Mr. Johnson, principal of the boys' junior high school, reported, "This is no blackboard jungle," and while inquiring among teachers and other authorities about problems of delinquency at the grammar school level, members of the research team were informed that delinquency was no problem for them. But, they said, it was widespread at the junior high school level. Then, the principal of the boys' high school, when asked specifically what the main problems were that his school faced with its children in general, replied, "Those of a reading nature. This school has had for many years the lowest reading ability in the city." His explanation was that a second language, namely, English, was being taught and that for this remedial reading was not enough. Over 50 percent Puerto Rican, his school population did in fact include many boys who were recent migrants and who had had less than three years of schooling before starting junior high school in New York. As for attendance, the principal said that his school had "a very high attendance record.... We have truants, but our average attendance is among the first ten [schools] in the city."

In the formal atmosphere of the classroom the child is expected by his parents not to speak unless he is spoken to by his teacher, not to move around, and not to play; in other words, he is not to disturb the teacher. He is to respect his teacher in terms of the definitions of respect he has been taught at home. As a token of this respect he will address his teacher as "Teacher," instead of by name. The expectations of the teacher are quite different, however. Teachers expect children to volunteer to speak as a way of demonstrating their interest in the class, and schools encourage play and games. Parents look askance on these procedures. They say with reference to the latter that in Puerto Rico children learn more in school than here because here there is too much play at school.

Parents expect teachers to take full responsibility as their surrogates for the child and his actions both while he is in school and while he is participating in activities connected with the school. Thus the school field trip programs to acquaint the children with the city may encounter parental disapproval. The school sends home a written note for the parent to sign if he approves of his child's going on the trip, but the note stipulates that the child goes under the responsibility of his parents. A father noted in this connection that here the schoolteacher asks permission and then says that he is not responsible if anything happens to the child. To his child he said," I am not allowing you to go on those trips again." He explained further that last week the teacher asked permission for one of the children to go to a museum and then left him with some other boys on 86th Street, telling them to take the subway home. "That is so complicated, he can get lost," and "even bigger boys get lost in the subway and have to go to the police so they may be sent to their homes." School authorities also require the children to bring in exact addresses and telephone numbers where the parents can be reached in "case of emergency." This was interpreted by one father as dangerous for his children. Said he, "The school should be in a better position to get a doctor or an ambulance for the children than we are."

For the parents, the school personnel and teachers represent not only a higher social class and persons of prestige, but also powerful authorities. The relationships between them are limited to matters concerning the children. Teachers expect parents to demonstrate their interest in their children by visiting the school and by responding to official invitations of the school to participate in school activities, such as parent-teachers association meetings and recreational programs planned by the teachers and involving the children. Invitations to visit the school may be a source of embarrassment or discomfort to the parents, who either expect that the teacher is going to complain about their child, or else assume that they do not have the proper attire for such an occasion or that they cannot speak English. And any of these is shameful. Whatever the situation, the parent who does not appear may simply ignore the invitation after he has directed his child to tell the teacher that he will come, or he may say that illness does not permit him to come. Either way, *the parent may still be deeply interested* in his child.

The schools learn about the home life conditions of the children only indirectly. As a rule, the teachers do not visit their students, are not residents of the neighborhood, and do not participate in other activities of the neighborhood than those that are connected with the school and officially required of them as teachers. Knowledge of the home life and extracurricular activities of the children is obtained by the school personnel through information given by the parents, reports of the visiting nurse, the attendance officers, and the police, or from information provided by the children themselves. Teachers communicate with the parents by sending them notes and letters, many of which are written in both Spanish and English. Small children are seen with messages addressed to their parents pinned on their shirts by the teacher.

Though to the parents the school is a symbol of authority, it is not, however, expected to encourage behavior or beliefs that conflict with those of the family. That it often does is not surprising, since parents and school work from such different premises. Protests by parents are not ordinarily registered with the teachers or other school officials, however, but are likely to be made to the child. A women told one of the fieldworkers that she was angry because the teacher told her children not to drink coffee. "Also in school they teach them to eat bread, and bread waters the blood." The children were scolded for trying to follow the teacher's advice, and the teacher was criticized in their presence.

In the eyes of recently arrived Hispano parents, the privileges and obligations of teachers and school authorities are similar to those expected of all adult persons — whether friends, kin, or *personas parti-*

culares (acquaintances and strangers) – who are in charge of children outside their homes. They are expected to ask permission of the parents to take the children out and are expected to report to the parents on the child's behavior. Should this report contain complaints (*quejas*) about a child, however, these are considered to be an imputation of censure of the parents' method of rearing their child, and a parent may enter into a defense of his child and his rearing techniques if a teacher or some other adult of respect complains to him. Afterward the parent may punish the child for having cast reflection on his capacity as a parent.

While the parents expect the children to respect their teachers, they do not expect the teacher to punish the children physically, even if they tell the teachers they may do so if their child disobeys and does not respect them. This permission is to be taken by the teacher as an expression of the trust the parent has in his abilities as a teacher and as a parental surrogate while the child is under his care. Teachers who beat up children are criticized by both parents and children, although complaints are not made to school authorities when parents are doubtful as to whether their children really deserved the beatings since they are afraid of becoming implicated in the possible misbehavior of the children. While children do not voice complaints about their parents' beating them and inflicting other harsh punishments on them, they do criticize teachers or other school authorities who give them the same treatment. Not only do children have to contend with beatings from parents and sometimes school authorities, but they may also be the victims of their classmates' aggression. The latter is just as frightening for some children as is the former. Nevertheless, parents expect their children to attend school regularly, except when they are ill or when family obligations have to be met.

Family business is placed ahead of school duties. If a parent needs a child to do errands, take care of the other children, accompany him when he has to go somewhere, or act as interpreter, the child must then miss school. While a child is doing his homework he will perhaps be asked to run errands, or a parent or some other adult may speak to him intermittently, expecting him to obediently reply. This, despite the fact that outside reading or assignments are desirable from the parents' point of view, since they keep the children busy and quiet in the home and are considered evidence that they are learning. (On the other hand, however, it is held that too much studying or reading is detrimental to the child's health, because too much weakens the brain and a person may go crazy from overstudying.) In the same room where a child is doing his homework, a television show or a radio program may be playing, and friends and relatives may have dropped in for a casual chat.

Living conditions thus combine with the low evaluation given whatever a child does (even that which involves the highly prized education) to make for interruptions and lack of privacy in studying. Hence a child may be trying to complete his assignments till late at night, while he participates simultaneously in his family's social life. Children who sleep in the living room or in the kitchen must wait for visitors to go home and for their parents to retire before they can go to bed.

If a child does not have shoes, clothing parents consider adequate, a coat, or lacks money requested by the teacher for some purpose, it is preferable from his parents' viewpoint that he not attend school and thus avoid the "shame" of his family's poverty. A child who is not "properly dressed" is regarded as a criticism of his parents. Still, many parents weight the importance of attending school so highly that they take a chance and send their children to school without "proper" attire, even though they recognize that being well treated and accepted require that one be "well presented." "You are treated by the way you look," it is said. The standards of the family as to what is "well presented" also enter into this matter, for while a child may be "acceptably dressed" according to his school, he may not be by parental standards and for this reason restrained from going to school. Conversely, a child may be improperly dressed according to the school authorities and properly dressed according to family standards. What constitutes being well or properly dressed among recent migrants differs from the standards held by both middle-class Americans and middle-class Hispanos, as well as those of longer-time, lower-class residents of New York City. One sees, for example, recent migrant junior and senior high school girls in Eastville on their way to class in tight black satin sleeveless dresses. These are considered to be the attire of well-dressed girls.

A large number of children of migrants quit school as soon as they can get working papers or as soon as they have passed the required age for compulsory schooling. This is what usually happens with those in the neighborhood when they turn sixteen. While numerous factors enter into making a decision to leave school, beatings by teachers and attacks on the part of other students push many out of school and into job-hunting. Others are pressured by their parents to leave school and go to work to help the rest of the family. There are parents, however, who, though they talk of desiring their children to reach the age when they can go to work, withstand personal and financial sacrifice to see their children over sixteen through high school. While the senior high school diploma is highly prized, a college education may be encouraged by the parents of children who have completed their secondary school training. But college is to be undertaken in the future at the children's own expense. Graduation from high school is considered to terminate the parents' obligation to their children, after what is viewed as a long hard stretch to prepare them to earn a living, and thus, in part, to assume the responsibilities of adulthood and marriage.

While in many ways the ideals of family life and the methods of rearing children of recent Hispano migrants contrast with those acceptable in American middle-class circles, they also contrast in many ways with those of Hispanos and other people who have grown up in Eastville. Hispano families in New York change in response to their social environment and to the culture of the society in which they are living. They develop new traditions, ideals, and manners of life, which are conditioned by their life circumstances in the city. In Eastville, therefore, the changes that Hispano families undergo are in the direction of the culture of the American slum, which, although different from the culture of the middle classes, is still American. Hispanos born in this country and those who migrated in early childhood acquire a kind of social heritage different, not only from that of their cousins in Puerto Rico, but also from that of their parents, who migrated as adults and who grew up to conform to Puerto Rican traditions and ways of life.

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*Many studies have been made and much has been said about the Puerto Rican child in cities. Although there are characteristics common to Puerto Rican children, these are by no means very different from those of other minority and emigrant children in the lower economic range. Problems of acculturation of emigrant groups are not new in our society, but invariably there is an urgency about them which is reflected in the many problems in the school and the community.

Perhaps as we look back at other migrations and note how these have been assimilated it is possible to reflect that people who, like the Puerto Ricans, have recently come out of a rural peasant cultural patterns of living find acculturation more difficult than those who come from an urban center. It may well be that rural peoples tend to be tradition-oriented while those from metropolitan communities are more other-directed so that they more readily respond to the cues available to them in our culture.

Acculturation is basically a problem of accommodation to a whole new set of patterns and being. It is actually the change-over from one culture to another. Culture is primarily a learning which is begun at birth and which provides the base for living. It permeates all behavior, from the simple fundamentals of eating and dressing and talking to the more complex and involved patterns of communication, use of symbols,

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* Sophie L. Elam, "Acculturation and Learning Problems of Puerto Rican Children," *Teachers College Record,* (February 1960), 61: 258-264.

and the development of a value system. Culture is also considered to be a determinant of the way one perceives oneself and others. It involves the totality of living from the biological to the social and intellectual. And the greatest complexity of the adjustment lies largely in the social sphere. ". . . under situations of stress or strain, of rapid change and consequent disorientation there is likely to be an increase in manifest ill health."[v]

Despite the vast network of our communications in mass media each emigrant group maintains almost intact its social constructs. For the adult who is already completely oriented to a way of life and whose whole gamut of responses is organized around the expected cues in his culture, the transition is difficult enough. He must select from the new what has resemblance to the familiar and add to this repertoire by trial and error the new learnings as they are needed. He tends to remain in his own ethnic and cultural clusters, both in industry and in neighborhood living, as witness the conclaves of Puerto Ricans in our cities.

But for the child who is still in the process of learning his social role and the inherent responses, the transition – often in only a few hours from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex environment; from rural areas to the cosmopolitan city – creates an even greater problem. It is the children who manifest the greatest degree of maladjustment.

When the culture process is interrupted or suddenly changed, learning seems to cease. The new setting often destroys the foundations of security. It is, therefore, little wonder that the child who is an emigrant has not completely learned the culture of the land of origin before he is thrust into the new world with a brand-new set of learning conditions to deal with. He is also usually the child of a family that is socially and economically disadvantaged and is therefore heir to all the insecurity, fears, and instabilities of our society to a larger degree than others. Both he and the adults in his family pursue a day-to-day existence with the attendant problems of inadequate housing, clothing, and nourishment. His parents too are caught in the crosscurrents of adjustment: to find jobs though they may be unskilled; to find housing at a cost they can afford when there is little available; to hold onto their own culture in a setting which neither understands nor is able to accept this.

The Puerto Rican child is thus caught between the two cultures, that of his people and the one which he must meet every day in the school. Sometimes he must respond to one that contradicts his own. The little girl who has been compliant is now expected to be active and responsive, to take the initiative, to face new people and situations on her own. In the schoolroom she is expected to talk and play with boys and to socialize more freely with her peers. There are rewards in our culture for this, but when she goes home she is forbidden to go out on the street to play. At home there is no reward for enterprising deeds, but rather the awaited and expected punishment. The emigrant child's age and sex roles and his developmental tasks are not the same as ours. If he adjusts to one, he negates the other, and as a result may lose his sense of identity with his family. The rewards we offer for these "disloyalties" are perhaps not as satisfying, nor can they be easily integrated into the patterns of the home and the other culture. We do, in fact, tend to create "culture conflict". the battle of the supremacy of cultures in the family and the clash of roles between parents and children.

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[v] Margaret Mead, *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change* (New York: Mentor Books, 1955).

Parents play the primary role in transmitting culture to the child. This is part of the socialization process. The child identifies with the parent and internalizes the learnings. In the new environment the parent is no longer in tune with the prevalent culture. He cannot command his child's involvement, since the new society does not value his contribution to the socialization of his own child. The dichotomies and dualisms we create tend to whip the dog we taught to eat.

Such a situation is evident in the story of Ana, the sixth of eight children in a family.[w] She was eight years old when she came to the mainland. Ana's mother is the strong and managing figure in the family – a traditional Puerto Rican mother who holds her daughters in rigid control. They are not allowed out on the street; they must not talk to other people, particularly boys. Even the older girls are kept in this strict regimen. Ana could perhaps have developed some ease in interchange, but the mother's restrictions were so forceful that the girl's only recourse was to deny all contact. As a result, no one was able to reach out to Ana. She went on to junior high school, where she is barely passing. In addition, she has developed even more reticence and isolates herself. She has frequent headaches and stomach upsets, and is absent from school very often.

This is a rather extreme example of the frequently found conflict in social roles particularly in reference to the upbringing of girls. Since the neighborhoods in which these families settle are often socially disorganized, there is a kind of justification for the fears of the parents which further constricts the life of the girls and the younger children. It is important in working with Puerto Rican parents to help them find ways to protect their children without completely depriving them of social interchange. However, the traditions are so firmly imbedded in the structure of their living that this is difficult to achieve. It is equally difficult to help growing children find the channel between outright rebellion and complete submission, hence they live in an atmosphere of conflict and indecision. It is at this point that they either compliantly submit and lose the ability to relate to their own peer group, or completely leave their families and join the peer group, thereby losing the support which they still need so much.

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[w] The cases described here are derived from the operation of a training program for undergraduates in Education at the City College of New York. Students serve as leaders for groups of children in a community group work program. The names of all cases described here are fictitious.

The language disability which pervades all these problems is very real. It is also a measure of the emotional stability of the person at this time of pressure. The differential rates of language learning are not only the result of age differentials and intelligence levels (the younger child learning more rapidly than the older and the brighter child learning faster than the duller) but also cues to the general level of the individual's emotional adjustment and the resolution of cultural identification and conflicts. Lanuage is one of the tools for learning which the emigrant child lacks. He is left with only the cues he can obtain from nonverbal communication; the expressive gestures which may convey some meaning for him. Here too, however, a facial expression or a gesture may mean something else to him, since gestures are also a language and are richly colored by each culture with specific meanings. Meanwhile he must manage without the necessary cues for directing his behavior.

As a result of these handicaps the child begins to feel inadequate. He cannot solve all the problems of adjustment to a new land, new language, new living, and new culture. He cannot seek support from his parents since they too are faced with the identical problems and with the added responsibility of founding their families in this new land. Therefore, if the child fails he suffers further indignity. He may reason that it is better not to try. Then one has not failed. Or better still, it is possible to remain so indifferent, uninvolved, and apathetic that one evades all responsibility for functioning in a setting fraught with failure and with many demands that one cannot meet.[x] This kind of "culture shock" is frequently found in great or small degree in many of our children and families.

The school is brought face to face with all these problems. There may be some variation in the nature of these difficulties in different families or individuals, but the total problem is present in every child the school works with who has recently arrived from Puerto Rico. Neither the school nor the teacher has been trained to see behavior in the light of these causes. Rather, they tend to meet each situation separately either as a discipline question or as an education problem. Our training practices in education have dealt chiefly with the child who is native to our land and has no outstanding language problem. The child of the lower economic and social strata is also rarely dealt with in our academic courses. Most of our textbooks are written by middle-class professors for middle-class teachers of middle-class children. We tend to think of education as primarily establishing literacy and the ability to deal with the daily technics of middle-class living in urban centers.

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[x] A. Anastasi and F. A. Cordova, "Some Effects of Bilingualism upon the Intelligence Test Performance of Puerto Rican Children in New York City," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* Vol. 44, pp. 1-19.

Education, although drawn from many other disciplines, for a long time tended to ignore the findings in anthropology, social psychology, and clinical psychology. Or at least it has not found a way to integrate these findings into the educational and developmental sequence usually taught in the teacher-preparation courses. We tend to divide sharply our disciplines at the college level, thus making it more difficult to provide an interdisciplinary approach to problems that the school faces. It seems hardly necessary to point out that if we are to work with a large number of children from a given culture we must, at the very least, learn something of the specifics of that culture, and of how it pervades the entire personality and its perceptions in new situations. Learning how Puerto Rican children dance or play ball or count in Spanish will not make the teacher aware of how Puerto Rican children view their inadequacy in learning the fundamentals of arithmetic or how and why it is so difficult for them to retain the fact that three and four are seven or remember that our *j* does not sound like *h*. There needs to be rather the concept of "*fundamental education* to cover the whole of living; to teach not only new ways but the need and the incentive for new ways."[y]

How does it feel to be unable to comprehend the cues in this new setting? How does it feel not to understand what people are saying? How do anxiety and insecurity affect a child's readiness to learn? How do people acquire a new culture without stress and destruction to their sense of well-being? The findings and skills of anthropology, sociology, and social and clinical psychology will help us interpret this kind of defeat and better still to learn to look for these problems. They will perhaps also sharpen our focus and help us find the educational methods which are best employed for reaching these children who really so desperately want to achieve. The individual caught in the maelstrom of conflicting cultures and feelings can be helped to move from inadequacy and near panic (as in "culture shock") to independence and courage.

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[y] Margaret Mead, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

II

In our work we encounter many children who reflect these problems. Rafael, a boy of two, saw his father migrate to the states. His mother left when he was three. When he was four his younger sister was sent to the mainland to join the family. He and his grandmother lived in Puerto Rico until he was seven. All these years of separation seemed to have given him the feeling of being unwanted. When he arrived here his mother was again unavailable to him, since she worked long hours away from home. During his first two years in this country he made few friends, and seemed to his teacher unable to learn. Carmen, his younger sister, was much more competent than he, and carried on much of the interchange for him and other members of the family with the new and strange world. Rafael was frequently sick and remained at home with his old grandmother to care for him. In the third year of his stay he seemed able to come to terms with his new country — to emerge from his chrysalis. Now he is lively and takes an interest in what goes on around him. He greets adults and children alike with warmth and friendliness, and his work at school has begun to show the real potential that he possesses.

Elsa is another child who experienced the privation of her mother's departure. When Elsa was two, her mother left for the United States, leaving her children to the care of their maternal grandmother. At three Elsa was brought to the mainland, but since her mother was working the children were left in the care of a woman living in the same apartment house. Elsa's initial adjustment to school was so poor that when she was in the second grade the school notified the mother that something had to be done. The child was hyperactive, inattentive, and created too much distraction in the classroom. The mother sent Elsa back to Puerto Rico to live with an aunt for a year. When Elsa returned, her adjustment to school, and her learning achievement were no better. At this time Elsa is being referred to a child guidance clinic.

These are only two cases among the many which we encounter in the schools. The pattern of emigration here depicted is usual in the Puerto Rican family. Early deprivation of the mother creates social and emotional problems which are very difficult to overcome, even with care and concern by the school and other agencies.

Many Puerto Rican children arrive after a period of separation from their mothers or both parents. Thus the emotional concomitants are disabling before the schools in this country even begin to work with the children. Exploration of conditions in each of the new families might alert the schools to the problems and perhaps gear the school situation to help these children. The syndrome of this difficulty has already been fully described by such writers in this field as John Bowlby and Lauretta Bender. It includes a range of behavior: apathy, lack of social responsiveness, depressed intellectual functioning (discussed by William Goldfarb), inability to form meaningful relationships, hyperactivity, aggression, and lowered intellectual potential.

III

The Alvarez family presents a different picture, yet it also has within it all the problems of adjustment to a new environment. There were four children in this family who lived originally in a rural community on the island. The father worked in the sugar cane fields; they had a small house, a cow, and chickens. Miguel, the father, migrated to the United States eight years ago. Two years later, Rosa, the mother, leaving the children on the island, came to set up the new home. After a few months of separation all the children were brought to the mainland.

The father had no skills, but he found employment as a dishwasher and has remained in that work. He is always employed but does not earn enough to care fully for his growing family. Two children were born here and the entire family lives in a partly furnished apartment (they have never been able to save enough to buy the requisite furniture). The Department of Public Welfare helps to subsidize the family, but even with this help the budget is too small to provide adequate bed linen, blankets, and warm winter clothing. All the children are slender and the school records indicate poor nutrition for all the school-age children.

Frequently the members of the family are prey to the upper respiratory illnesses so common to Puerto Rican families. Maria, the thirteen-year-old daughter must then remain at home to help care for the mother and children. She had so many absences from school that the teachers complained they could not really help her.

Maria is a tall, stoop-shouldered girl with large dark eyes, pale olive skin, and a slow, hesitant manner. She attended an after-school club program for three years but always remained on the outskirts of the group, although nearly all the club members are of Puerto Rican background. She uttered hardly a word. When she was ten Maria had the first of a series of minor epileptic attacks and is now attending the Seizure Clinic regularly. (This is another common ailment among newly emigrant families, who refer to this illness as "ataques." It may be another manifestation of the somatic effects of the stress in adjustment.)

Maria has repeated the sixth grade and even now has achieved a reading level of only third grade. Her ability in mathematics is even lower than her reading level. This girl saw herself as completely inadequate in every aspect of her living. She never undertook anything for fear of failure. It was only after a year of intensive work with Maria and her family, using nearly every resource in the community, that Maria gained any sense of competence.

There were many health problems in the family for which nursing, nutritional guidance, and hospital care had to be obtained. Fortunately, though the mother speaks no English and is completely illiterate, she is deeply concerned for her children, has much warmth and affection to give, and is eager to help her family adjust to the new environment. She is able to overcome the traditional patterns and encourages Irma to participate in clubs and activities.

The problem of family finances was partially solved by additional funds allotted for special diets for several of the children. The family was encouraged to make application for public housing. The social service resources were made available for Maria by the Catholic Big Sisters, and Maria is now assured of a permanent relationship to meet her emotional needs.

A special program was set up to give Maria opportunities for relationships with children in the group club program, and a special worker was assigned to act in a supportive role for the child as she began to make the transition to active participation. A remedial program in reading was also arranged. From the start it was felt that Maria had much more potential than her low IQ indicated. She seemed quite creative with art materials. As all this enrichment was made available she began to awake from her long passive role and to look out and see people. She clamored for help in her school work; she wanted to achieve. She began to take a more active role with her peers. Even her slow, hesitant manner and walk changed. She ran now and jumped; she had a close friend; and she had abandoned her role on the periphery of the group.

Although there are still many problems in the Alvarez family and Maria has a long way to go, we have already some sense of the potential of the child and the possibility that she can move more rapidly now toward the achievement of a large part of that potential. She will probably never achieve all that is possible for her. But having studied Maria we can continue with the other children and help each one of them. They are younger and there may be a better chance to bring to fruition more of their potential. Perhaps the second generation of this family will achieve greater self-actualization.

The school has to meet the needs of many children. Now it is the Puerto Rican child, as it was once the Irish, the Italian, the Jewish groups in other tides of emigration. In each child there will be problems which stand in the way of learning. It is only as the school and the community come to know the family and its needs that these newcomers can be helped. It will be through the school, together with many other agencies and with a view to the totality of the child and his family, that the acculturation will come about.

[*] I welcome this opportunity to discuss with you what has been called a "Puerto Rican View of School Integration." This title would seem to imply that Puerto Ricans have their own view on the question of school integration, somewhat differently from others. As a matter of fact – we do!

To understand *how* we Puerto Ricans see this issue of integration and *why* we see it as we do – what integration means and does not mean to us – requires an understanding of our experiences and conditioning as well as our view of the total issue. It is equally necessary and important to bear in mind clearly the experiences and conditioning of the American Negro if we are to fully understand all the issues inherent in the struggle for integration in New York City and the rest of the nation.

The present struggle for desegregation and for integration in schools is not just a struggle to secure truly equal educational opportunities for members of the Negro community of America. At *this* particular moment in the history and dynamics of this struggle, the pertinent sentence of the Supreme Court decision is *not* the one that reads, "Segregation with the sanction of the law has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system." The really pertinent and significant statement of the May 17 decision *now,* at *this* moment, is the one that reads, "To separate them [Negroes] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

The judicial tempering of this statement by saying *"may affect"* could have been left out. The fact of history clearly demonstrates that this type of segregation, along with all other types of segregation, *has* in fact affected the "hearts and minds" of our American Negro community in a way that most certainly would "unlikely ever be undone" if it were not for the affirmative action being taken by the Negro in America today, a century after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Segregation, as practiced in our society against the Negro, can be understood only as a part of his tragic history in America, it can be understood in terms of how he came to the United States and how he has been dealt with by the majority society since his arrival.

The stigma of inferiority became a means of enforcing a negative self-evaluation upon the victim. It also provides the justification for the oppressiveness of the oppressors, and while this stigma has been and still is used against others in America, its greatest effect has been against the Negro.

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[*] **Joseph Monserrat, "School Integration: A Puerto Rican View." An address before the Conference on Integration in New York City Public Schools at Teachers College, Columbia University, (May 1, 1963).**

Unlike the Puerto Rican of today, or the Irish, the German, or the Jew of yesterday, the Negro did not come here as a free man seeking to better his opportunities in a new environment. His relationship with his homeland, its history and civilization, its language and forms of worship was forcibly broken. He was not just disarmed physically – he was disarmed psychologically.

That tremendous and untold damage has also been done to the majority group – including not only the old-line Americans, but the millions of others who followed and who, though citizens of the United States today, were born in other countries yesterday or are children of those who were – is also implicit in the Supreme Court opinion. It can be said – more, it can be both quantified and qualified if we will – that damage has been done "to the hearts and minds" of the majority which, if we are not careful, may "unlikely ever be undone." It may well be that the majority group, unlike the Negro, was not disarmed physically, but he has most certainly been somewhat deranged psychologically; for how else would one explain adults spitting upon children, pushing lighted cigarettes into the ears of a diner sitting quietly at a lunch counter, or shooting a mailman peacefully walking his self-appointed round in the dead of night?

The heroic efforts being made to integrate public schools in New York City or New Rochelle; Gary, Indiana, or Englewood, New Jersey; Mississippi or Georgia must first of all be clearly understood to be a part of a national movement on all fronts on the part of both Negroes and whites to undo this damage to both groups which in fact has been so long left undone. It is first of all a basic part of the struggle of the American Negro to secure the self-respect and dignity due him as a human being and as a creature of God. It is part of a basic fight whose battle cry, as Dr. Martin Luther King points out, is contained in three words: *All, here, now.*

The Negro seeks *all* of his rights. He seeks *all* of his rights *here* – in New York City, in Georgia, Alabama, Maine or California – wherever he may be. He seeks *all* of his rights *here* and he seeks them *now,* not tomorrow or next year or in ten years. He has waited long enough. He cannot and will not be a Job any longer.

Segregated schools, whether *de facto* or *de jure,* whether they provide equal educational facilities and high educational standards – indeed even if they were to provide the Negro child with a better education than that received by his white peer – would, in my view, still be unacceptable to the Negro in America today. They would be unacceptable because they symbolize, as do all other forms of segregation, the inferior and unequal status in which the Negro, simply because he is a Negro, is held by the white, simply because *he* is white.

The segregated school is but one of the many ways in and through which the one group is continuously reminded by the other that the first is inferior and the other superior. It also represents one of the means through which the Negro child is conditioned to recognize his "inferior" status and the white child conditioned to understand his "superior" one – for each must be carefully though subtly taught.

That this is the first and basic issue involved in the entire matter of school integration may very well be clear to most of those attending this conference – but it is not so clearly nor so broadly understood as it should be. In fact, it was the absence of any consideration of this point in Dr. James Conant's *Slums and Suburbs* that may have made many of us concerned with this crucial issue, fail to accord the book the serious attention it deserves.

For the Negro – indeed, for all Americans – there can never be truly educational opportunities; there can never be an eradication of the damage done to the hearts and minds of both majority and minority groups until – and unless – each and every single and individual Negro is seen first of all as a human being, equal in dignity and potential to all human beings. He must first be judged and evaluated as an individual, solely on the basis of his ability and potential *as* an individual, and *not* on the basis of his being Negro.

I believe that in fighting against segregation, the Negro is fighting for his right to be a Negro. In fighting for his right to be a Negro, he fights for his right to *be,* for he can only be *as* a Negro. He cannot be anything else – nor should he be –or want to be – nor should anyone else want him to be otherwise.

In a multi-cultured democratic society such as ours, integration must not and cannot mean submerging or forgetting the specific content and values of one's own past, either as an individual or as a member of a group. In a multi-cultured democratic society such as ours, integration must mean:

(a) That we recognize and respect the differences among us; and, that difference means just that – different; it does not mean that the factor of being different makes some people better and others worse. These values must be judged on the basis of individual ability and potential.

(b) That the right to be different must not be detrimental to the whole nor to those parts of the whole who may wish to or must (because of their visibility) remain different.

(c) That the whole cannot discriminate against an individual or a group because of the desire or need of that individual or group to remain affiliated with what they consider a special value.

In other words, integration is in fact the fulfillment of the American dream of unity without uniformity.

If I may be permitted a parenthetical note on the affairs of our country in our international dealings, the struggle for the survival of the democratic concept in today's world, in my view, may perhaps depend more upon our success with the issues involved in integration, as I have outlined them, than an any other single factor, for democracy cannot truly flourish unless there is a respect for and an appreciation of the worth, dignity, difference between men, and value of each individual man.

If I seem to belabor this point I do so for two reasons. First, because it cannot be said often enough; second, because only by keeping these factors clearly in mind can we understand what I am about to say relative to integration and the Puerto Ricans.

In discussing the issues of integration in New York City schools, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are referred to constantly almost as if they were one and the same. They are not.

Unlike the Negro, we Puerto Ricans are not a race. We are, at most, an ethnic group. As such, some of us are "white," some of us are "Negro," and some of us are so-called "mixed."

Puerto Rico was discovered by Christopher Columbus in the year 1493. It was settled by Juan Ponce de León, the first Puerto Rican migrant, in 1508. The island's original Indian population was rapidly overcome and soon disappeared as a separate discernible ethnic group. With the virtual disappearance of the Arawak Indian as a source of labor, the Spaniards turned to Africa. From 1511 to 1530 some 1500 African slaves were brought into Puerto Rico. From 1530 to 1555, some 15,000 more slaves were brought to the Island.

The bloodline of the Puerto Rican comes from many sources. Its base is Spanish. There was some early mixture of Spanish with the few remaining Indian women, some of whom were concubines and others wives. Europeans from many lands came next as soldiers, adventurers, and pirates. In 1511 slaves began to arrive. The revolution of Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti drove many French families into Puerto Rico. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 brought other hundreds of families to the Island.

Ruth Gruber, in her book, *Puerto Rico — Island of Promise,* writes:

> The bloodstreams of all these migrants fused to make the Puerto Rican of today. He is not a Negro, although 20 percent of the

population is Negro. He is not Indian, yet the golden skin, the high check-bones, the aquiline nose, the gentleness and hospitality of the Indian are a common traits all over the island. He is not a Spaniard, yet he may have the blond hair of Northern Spain or the pure white skin of Barcelona.

But these, at least to my mind, are but the superficial differences between the Puerto Rican and the Negro. The real differences come from other factors. They come from our experiences, our conditioning, and our history as a people.

In our history as a people we have never had what we call in the United States a "minority group." In Puerto Rico the only people who are called a "minority" are those members of the political parties that fail to win an election. Puerto Ricans, therefore, whether Negro, white, or mulatto, have not received the same conditioning in this regard as have both the American Negro and white.

This is not to imply that there is no prejudice among us Puerto Ricans. As members of the human race we, too, suffer from this disease. However, in our history as a people prejudice has been limited primarily to relations between individuals. In our history of more than 450 years, we have never had a broad scale system of institutionalized discrimination *de facto* or *de jure*.

Puerto Rico was the only area in the Caribbean where the Negro slave did not rebel against his master, for right from the beginning there was a strong movement to free first the Indian and then the Negro. Slavery was abolished finally in Puerto Rico in 1873, at which time only only 4.2 per cent of the total population were slaves.

In 1812, of a total population of 150,426 the slave population totalled 17,536 Negroes, having remained substantially the same as in the year 1794. In addition to the 17,536 Negro slaves, there were also 12,872 free Negroes living in Puerto Rico.[z]

Puerto Ricans, whether Negro or white, have never had to bear the horrendous burden of having to fight those who would make them feel or believe that they were lesser human beings than others because of skin pigmentation — or for that matter, for any other reason.

There has never been a race riot in Puerto Rico.

Dr. Melvin Tumin of Princeton (and one of the discussants at this conference) and his colleague, Dr. Arnold Feldman of the University of Delaware, conducted a field study among 1,000 heads of households, scientifically selected from all social strata in Puerto Rico. Their trained interviewers classified these 1,000 heads of household as follows: 608 white, 307 mulatto, and 80 Negro. On the other hand, the respondents classified themselves thus: 537 white, 397 mulatto, and 55 Negro!

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[z] United States War Department, Report on Puerto Rico Census, 1899 (U. S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1900), *Diario Economico de Puerto Rico* (March 21, 1814), as quoted in *Historia de la Esclavitud Negra en Puerto Rico* by Luis M. Diaz Soler, published by the University of Puerto Rico.

"The evidence," say Tumin and Feldman, "urges us to the conclusion that skin color is considerably less important in Puerto Rico than in the United States; that it is virtually of no significance whatsoever in many important areas of life; that the majority feel that people of darker color are not blocked from major opportunities by their color. . . ." There is no doubt that, as Tumin and Feldman point out, there are areas of problems around color in Puerto Rico. However, as they indicate, ". . . it is fair to say that color discrimination in Puerto Rico is a subtle and minor theme in Puerto Rican life."

This, then, is one of the major differences between the Negro and the Puerto Rican in the United States: That all Puerto Ricans are not colored, and that even among those who are, color is not a major issue in Puerto Rican life.

Another significant difference is that Puerto Ricans represent a whole, unlike the Negro, who represents a part or minority of a whole. For this reason, Puerto Ricans are accustomed to seeing other Puerto Ricans at work at all levels, from low-income farm workers to the rich landowners who hire them; from the teacher who teaches them to the Rector of the University; from the district political leader to the Governor, the members of his Cabinet, and all the members of the House and Senate.

I repeat:

The Puerto Rican by experience, conditioning, and history is not a member of a minority group. He is both a part of the whole, and the whole itself – despite existing differences of class and race.

The Puerto Rican parent of the Puerto Rican child in New York City schools – and, indeed, many of the children themselves – were in Puerto Rico accustomed to attending school or seeing others attend school where all in attendance are Puerto Rican. The child of the Negro parent has also attended all-Negro schools, but unlike the Negro, I do not believe any Puerto Rican ever gave thought to whether his schools were integrated or not.

In other words, in Puerto Rico the Puerto Rican in a "racial" sense has – and has had – ALL of his rights; he has – and has had – all of his rights HERE (i.e., wherever he lived in all parts of the Island); and he has – and has had – them NOW! For almost four centuries the Puerto Rican has possessed what the Negro now is fighting to attain.

We are fully aware of the fact that we, upon arrival in New York City and elsewhere, are seen by our fellow citizens as another – a new –

minority group. We are also aware of the fact that we are seen by our neighbors as being "non-white." Since the question of color has not been a major theme in our experience or our history, we at first paid little attention to this designation. However, we learned fast. We learned that in the States a new dimension had been added: the dimension of "color." We found that skin pigmentation could determine where we could live and work. In fact, many Puerto Ricans soon learned that color was only part of the restriction they were facing: They were rejected as soon as they identified themselves as Puerto Ricans. I recall vividly the almost traumatic shock of one blue-eyed "pure white" Puerto Rican (whose ancestors on both sides descended from a long line of titled, German nobles), when he came to grips with this problem. In applying for an apartment, he had been refused, because he was Puerto Rican!

We realize that prejudice and discrimination in America are not wholly a matter of color and race. They are a state of mind – a state of mind brought about (among other things) by fear, which in turn often engenders hate.

We therefore reject the designation of "non-white." We reject it not because those of us who are in fact non-white are in any way ashamed of being of color; we reject it because we reject the state of mind behind it which, in referring to us as "non-white," is really telling us that we are not equal to others – that we are "inferior." To accept their value, would be to become inferior. Human beings are only inferior to others when they acknowledge themselves to be so. In so acknowledging we reinforce the belief of those who consider themselves superior. This we will not do!

We will not do this not only because man's scientific knowledge has demonstrated that one group of humans is not superior to another; we will not do so because for us to do so would be to retard the fight for equality which is moving forward on all fronts everywhere in America today. For, as I indicated earlier, the struggle for school integration in New York City and elsewhere in America at *this* stage is "first of all a basic part of the struggle of the American Negro to secure the self-respect and dignity due him as a human being. . . ." This self-respect and this dignity in this sense have been ours for centuries. They are ours now in Puerto Rico (a part of the American union), and we insist on keeping them wherever we go.

How to do this – how to keep our self-respect and dignity as human beings both in our own eyes and in the eyes of our neighbors – is the real problem confronting us. It is from this point of view – the point of view of *keeping*, not *acquiring* – that *we* must deal with the problems of integration in schools.

We Puerto Ricans have joined, are joining, and will join in ever-growing numbers with our Negro neighbor and with all others who seek to eliminate segregation in schools and in every other walk of life. We do so because to us integrated living has not been a far distant goal – it has been our way of life! And, if we are to maintain this way of life – and yes, eradicate whatever vestiges of prejudice and discrimination yet remain with us – we must *promote* our way of life. The realization of this is being pressed upon more and more of us. As a result more and more of us will participate more actively in promoting and maintaining that which up to now we had taken for granted.

We believe there *is* a distinction between the significance of a Puerto Rican child attending a school in which most or all of the children are of Puerto Rican background and of a Negro child attending a school in which most or all of the children are Negro. From a "racial" point of view, the all-Negro school is in fact completely segregated. On the other hand, because of the racial background of the Puerto Rican child, an all-Puerto Rican school may well be, from a "racial" point of view, the most integrated of schools. The real difference, however, is that the Negro feels that he is segregated because of his race (as, in fact, he is in most instances), while the Puerto Rican by and large does not feel this.

However, we have said that segregation and discrimination, particularly in the North, is more a state of mind and emotion than a matter of race.

Therefore, we recognize that the effect of the segregated school on the Puerto Rican child and on the Negro child is to a high degree almost identical when measured by the final result of their education, their achievement scores and reading level. We also recognize that this type of school and the present values that create and maintain it indeed generate a feeling of inferiority as to our status in the community which certainly affects the hearts and minds of our children.

At this time the Negro and Puerto Rican child both—even if for different reasons – by and large are not accepted into the middle-class society or its schools. They are excluded. Their education is a different one, geared to a different product from the education of the children who are members of the middle-class society.

Ours are the children of the outside group, and as such they are dealt with in our educational processes. Their occupational opportunities are considered to be limited, and these limitations are the framework of the educational process especially prepared for them. They are the "unfortunate" in our society, and the well-meaning teacher, not to speak of the prejudiced teacher, wants to help them to go through school with as few problems as possible, prepared to accept willingly the menial jobs which may be waiting for them and which many conclude *a priori* to be their lot.

The Negro today militantly refuses to accept this situation any longer. The Puerto Rican, not having the experience or conditioning of the Negro in this type of situation, has for some years lived in blissful ignorance – a dupe of circumstances. For, although Puerto Ricans were recorded as far back as the 1910 census as living in 39 states, the majority of the some 800,000 of us living in the United States today have lived here less than 20 years.

Actually, as we look back we discover that in 1940, although there were over 70,000 Puerto Ricans living in the States, mostly in New York City, there was at that time no "Puerto Rican problem."

It was not until after 1946 that we became a "race," that an identifiable descriptive stereotype had been created for us. In 1954 we discovered that our children, along with Negro children, were bing described as "X" children who attended "X" schools. There also were some other children who were called "Y" children and they attended "Y" schools.

We also learned that at that time that, when the "X" schools were compared with the "Y" schools, it was discovered that the "X" school buildings were older and somewhat less well equipped than the "Y" school buildings; also, that there were fewer regular teachers in the "X" schools. That is, that a disproportionately high percentage of the teachers teaching in the "X" schools as compared with the teachers of the "Y" school were teachers who for a variety of reasons did not meet the minimum standards established by the Board of Education for licensing a teacher – a prerequisite for becoming a regular teacher.

We also learned that the children in the "X" schools were not "achieving" at a par with the children of the "Y" schools. And, we suddenly realized that many of these "X" children were *our* children. With this realization came awareness of the segregated school and the fact that we could ignore neither its meaning nor its result. Thus, too, New York City realized that it could no longer ignore what a number of concerned citizens, most of them Negroes, had been aware of for many years – namely that New York City had many *de facto* segregated schools.

I realize that this description may be thought of by some as being either facetious or cynical, or both. I assure you I mean to be neither. I am simply trying to describe in words the awakening process of a group of people whose entire history and experience left them without the necessary "malicia," as we say in Spanish, to see what was happening before their eyes or to fully understand the implications and meaning of what they did see.

I am trying to explain to those who wonder, why the Puerto Rican has not been as militantly concerned as has the Negro over the problems and issues of integration and the segregated school. The Puerto Rican's experience, conditioning and history have made him slow to realize the threat and danger that segregation poses not only for his children but for his very way of life. The irony of it all is, of course, obvious. The experience, conditioning, and history of the Puerto Rican which has resulted in a way of life that has made him unable to perceive as quickly and clearly as he should have, what was and is happening to him, is the very way of life we here in the states seek in the struggle against segregation!

But much has happened since 1954. The symbols "X" and "Y" used in a scientific study are rather impersonal, as they should be and are intended to be. However, when the symbol "X" school is changed to read first "problem" school, then "difficult" school, and now "subject" school, we leave the realm of the impersonal and become quite personal and very understandable. Thus we now clearly understand that "problem" school – "difficult" school – "subject" school really means problem children – difficult children – subject children. And many of the children thus being described are ours. As parents we know some of our children *are* "problems" and *are* "difficult." But, are *all* of our children problems? Are they all difficult? This we would find hard to believe – and indeed we are assured by teachers and other educational authorities that they are not. We are assured that there is no intent to label, belittle, or stigmatize our children when these school designations are made. But, intended or not, we have now reached the point where we must begin to question seriously not necessarily the intention – for if it were bad intent, bad as that would be, we could at least understand – but the appaling lack of sensitivity, understanding, or perception on the part of those responsible for devising such names which is beyond comprehension. Children attending schools with pathological labels are labeled and marred; this is not good for children, it is not good education, and it is not good for education.

Yes, much has happened to us and to our understanding of the issues involved since 1954. Today we are able to say – and do say – that this type of labeling of the children attending specific schools in specific areas, whether intended or not, is another way of differentiating minority group children from majority group children, and is another means of re-enforcing the concepts of group superiority and inferiority. This is racism – as a state of mind – in its most damaging and subtle form.

Puerto Ricans are particularly adept at devising nicknames – "apodos," we call them in Spanish. Some of these "apodos" are so obviously descriptive of the peculiarities of the individual being so baptized that I say, perhaps not altogether facetiously, that this may be one of the as yet unknown and unmeasured motivations for migration.

Pitirim Sorokin in his monumental work, *The Fluctuation of the Arts,* describes, if I remember correctly, how different art forms are dominant in a given culture at a given time. In Puerto Rico the most highly developed art form has been, and no doubt still is, poetry. To be poetical one must, among other things, possess a feeling for words and their nuances, as well as the ability to verbalize concepts. There may be those who might say that this is the reason for our concern over names. They may also feel that this is why we are also greatly concerned over the current set of all encompassing slogans such as "culturally deprived," "socially disadvantaged," or the "culture of poverty." It may be, but I think not, because many non-Puerto Ricans are also concerned over the implication inherent in these pseudo-social scientific terms. In fact, many of those who use them admit they do not really mean what they suggest.

I ask: *Is* a culture that has for four centuries been able to maintain the individual dignity, value, and worth of all its members (despite differences in race and class) a deprived or disadvantaged culture when compared with one that has been striving to achieve these values and has yet not been able to do so?

If it is a disadvantaged and deprived culture, it can only be so judged if the values used to "measure" it are values which support the concept of segregation – of the superiority and inferiority among and between groups of men.

If this *is* the value to be used in judging which culture is deprived and which is not, then let us come forth and say so clearly and openly. If it is not – and I know all here would agree it is not – then let not the educators or the social scientists be guilty of appearing to believe it *is* by creating, adopting, promoting and defending concepts and theories which in fact reenforce the notion of the superiority of one group and the inferiority of another.

But you insist this is not what is meant when it is said that Puerto Ricans are culturally deprived. What is meant is that because of his background he is not properly motivated to take advantage of those things in our society which will enable him to raise his standards in life.

Here there are many questions I would ask if time permitted. I will ask just a few.

Are we sure that a culture that puts more value on status, prestige, symbols, and material possession, that makes of material things an end in and of themselves rather than a means to an end, a culture which in fact recognizes the great need to change some of its present basic values, is this a culture to be emulated so that in so doing we continue to perpetuate that which many agree needs be changed?

Is the child of a minority group culturally deprived because the majority group has established norms which a *priori* assume that most of the minority group members will not be able to attain the majority values, position, or education, and which proceeds to prove this hypothesis by providing a school system which is by and large geared to prevent him from achieving middle class majority levels?

I am aware of what those who talk about the problems of the "culturally deprived," of the "socially disadvantaged" are trying to say and point up. However, while I am not a semanticist, I believe that in the emotionally charged atmosphere of today's struggle for integration the use of what I have already termed pseudo-social scientific terms filled with ambiguities can only lead to the raising of questions like those I have raised and many more I could raise which, while of great importance, address themselves only to part of the problem. Discharging emotionally and value laden words into an emotionally charged atmosphere will most certainly result in thunder. At best, we can expect only an occasional flash of heat lightning. What we need is a constant bright light.

As we Puerto Ricans look at the total problem of school integration and equal educational opportunities for all, we are only too aware of the vastness of the problem. As a people with a culture, with history and with an experience we do what others do – we seek answers to present problems by falling upon our experience of the past.

In Puerto Rico proper, we Puerto Ricans have a living functional reality of the "proof," if you will, of our ability to both achieve and attain. "Operation Bootstrap," the program developed by the people of Puerto Rico to pull themselves out of a 19th century existence into a 20th century reality is known round the world. Thousands of people from over 112 nations have come and are still coming to see how we do it – to help us – and to learn from us.

It is the brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, cousins and the former neighbors in Puerto Rico of the Puerto Ricans in New York, and indeed many of the New York Puerto Ricans themselves, who are responsible for this achievement.

If time permitted, we could also dwell on "Operation Commonwealth" through which the people of Puerto Rico are hard at work on one of their most difficult of problems – namely the development of a new and creative political status.

We could also discuss another bold conception of the people of Puerto Rico "Operation Serenity." Simply put, Operation Serenity represents the attempts of a people to husband their expanding economy, its means of production as well as its products in such a way that these means remain means and not become ends in and of themselves. In other words, the tools of society should remain just tools and man must remain the master, not become he slave of his tools. Only in this way can man remain conscious of the value of man and not superimpose and give greater value to the things man produces.

But because of time we can only give passing mention to those areas. But, we remind you that we have this experience to fall back on as we look for a solution to our present problems. And, I repeat, we recognize only too well the enormity of our educational problems; after all, we are one of its main victims.

Nevertheless, we recall that against tremendous odds we in Puerto Rico are well on the way toward resolving our educational problems — as much as man can ever resolve these.

In Puerto Rico just 65 years ago only one Puerto Rican in every 41 attended school. 80 per cent of the population was illiterate — there were only 600 teachers. Some 40 years later in 1940 with twice the population we had 286,113 students attending schools even though many of the schools were dilapidated. But we still did not have enough schools for all of our children. By 1960 almost all of our grade school children were in schools; in fact, over 700,000 persons are receiving some kind of education in Puerto Rico today!

We now have almost 15,000 teachers. By the end of this, what we have termed the decade of education, we will have acquired an educational system equal to any.

We function from the belief that no one knows the potential of any child until that child is given every opportunity to develop whatever ability he may have. We therefore set out to provide for each child the highest education possible. We are fully aware that there are individual differences between and among children and that each will develop according to these differences; but we start out by affording to each child the maximum of opportunities we are able to provide. We do not decide *a priori* which child or group of children should or should not receive these benefits. They are available to all.

If it is new concepts that we seek in order to solve our serious and pressing educational problems, we should begin by assuming that each child, given every opportunity, will in fact develop to his full personal ability. If any doubt exists, it does not exist in the minds of the young people — it exists only in the minds of adults.

Can there be doubt when we think of the young American Negro of today, a product of a so-called socially deprived culture, the product of the culture of poverty, who has taken his destiny into his own hands and is staging one of the most profound and significant social revolutions ever seen in the United States?

In carrying out this revolution he has adapted a technique which, while conceived by the American Thoreau, was put into practice only in Africa and India. This technique, based upon the concept of non-violence, fortified with love, requires the highest type of motivation and the most stringent self-imposed discipline.

Can we possibly say that there is no hope for the Negro youth of America in the face of all this, or must we admit that it is we who lost faith and lost hope?

As Governor Muñoz Marin of Puerto Rico once said in discussing the problem of developing the underdeveloped countries, ". . . in the final analysis, the great resource which must be tapped . . . is people. The great task is to unleash their creative energies, and the great first step is reached when they join together to work with enthusiasm and purpose, armed with adequate technical tools to achieve their own salvation."

It is this that the Negro youth of today is doing.

To quote Governor Muñoz again ". . . the great engines of creative energy in peoples are hope and pride . . . if you can find the touchstones to spur their hope and pride you will unleash their creative capacities and energies, and a new dynamism will enter into their lives before which even stubborn obstacles will fall."

CONTRIBUTIONS

* Puerto Rico is an old country which enjoys an unusual blend of ancient Spanish culture combined with many aspects of American culture. Puerto Rico is making contributions on the international scene far out of proportion to her size and importance.

The Point IV Program

During the past several years the island has served as a training laboratory for our Point IV program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. Over 4,000 engineers, factory managers, public administrators, health officers, teachers, labor leaders, and planning officials from 103 different countries have visited Puerto Rico to study its methods of economic development.[aa] In many instances, the island's techniques for overcoming underdevelopment – the relatively small factories and small-scale economic and social programs – have proved more helpful to foreign students and experts than the massive projects carried out in the already highly developed United States. Puerto Rico's "Operation Bootstrap" is now known the world over, and to many underdeveloped countries it symbolizes what can be accomplished in a short time and in a democratic way.

Today, Puerto Rican experts on education, diet, agriculture, and social and economic development are serving with U.S. and U.N. agencies in various countries, with the Organization of American States, and with other international agencies.

Puerto Rico is acting as a cultural meeting ground, contributing to better understanding not only between the United States and Latin America, but also between the United States and many other countries throughout the world.

Trade with the U. S.

Few realize that Puerto Rico is one of the world's largest buyers of U.S. products – our Number One customer on a per capita basis. In 1956-57, Puerto Rico spent $635 million for U.S. products – over $1.7 million *per day*.[bb]

In the U. S. Armed Forces

Puerto Rico's 65th U.S. Infantry Regiment gained fame in World War II and again in Korea. Over 75,000 Puerto Ricans served in world

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* From, Herbert Sternau, *Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans* (New York: The Council of Spanish-American Organizations, 1958). pp. 29-31.

[aa] This figure has been averaging about 1,260 per year for the past 15 years.

[bb] Puerto Rico's purchases had risen to almost one billion dollars a year by 1963-64.

War II and 43,000 in Korea. Ninety-one per cent of those who fought in Korea were volunteers. General Douglas MacArthur, as Commander of the United Nations forces, praised the 65th's "brilliant record of achievement in battle."

Some Well-Known Puerto Ricans

Many Puerto Ricans are well known in the United States – notably such performing artists as José Ferrer, one of the outstanding actor-directors in the American theatre; movie star Rita Moreno; Graciela Rivera, famous opera singer; Jesús María Sanromá, concert pianist; Tito Puente, popular orchestra leader; Juano Hernandez, veteran motion-picture actor; Olga San Juan, stage and film star.

Puerto Rican baseball players in the major leagues – such as Vic Power, Rubén Gómez, Félix Mantilla, Juan Pizarro, Luis Arroyo, Robert Clemente, and Jim Rivera – are well known to fans.

In addition to their contributions in industry, agriculture, sports, and the arts, Puerto Ricans also bring with them many spiritual and cultural values which we might hope to see adopted here:

(1) The solidarity of the family group – which assumes a responsibility for its members far beyond the general mainland pattern.

(2) A less material standard of values and a philosophy which judges and respects a person for what he is and does rather than for how much he has.

(3) An attitude toward differences in skin color far ahead of mainland prejudices.

(4) A deep sense of the dignity of the individual.

(5) A grace and joy of living which could be a major contribution to the American scene. It is doubtful if the change could be so marked as to close department stores for a mid-day siesta as they do in Puerto Rico, but if the Latin culture could slow down the pace of the New Yorker and inject a degree of Spanish graciousness into the subway rush hour – it would be wonderful.

185